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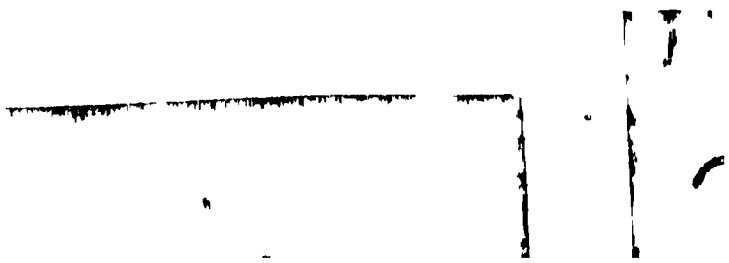

GEORGE III. KING of GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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Royal Academy.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

THE ACCESSION

OF

KING GEORGE THE THIRD,

TO THE

CONCLUSION OF PEACE

IN THE YEAR

ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THREE.

322

By JOHN ADOLPHUS, ESQ. F.S.A.

THE THIRD EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

WHEN I undertook the Work which is now ſubmitted to the Public, I did not overlook the difficulties of the execution, nor over-rate my own powers.

I FULLY appreciated the delicacy of detailing the annals of a living Sovereign, and of deſcanting on the conduct and motives of men who yet ſurvive, or who have been recently removed from the buſy ſcene. I was aware that bitter calumny or fulſome adulation had disfigured moſt of their characters; and that the real image of perſons, as well as the true colour of events, could with difficulty be diſcerned through the noxious miſt or ſplendid vapour. I knew that other writers had executed the ſame taſk, and had even extended their labours to a nearer, and conſequently more intereſting period than that which it was my intention for the preſent to occupy; and as my manner of eſtimating characters, and conſidering events differed materially from theirs, I did not diſguiſe from myſelf the reaſons for apprehending, that my Work would be expoſed to ſome diſadvantages from the effects of prepoſſeſſion.

HISTORY has been termed, by a juſt and well known definition, Philoſophy, inſtructing by examples; but the nature of the doctrine will always be conſiderably influenced by the temper, views, and

prejudices

prejudices of the hiſtorian: and that writer muſt be highly culpable, who, before he undertakes the taſk of directing the opinions of mankind on the moſt important ſubjects, omits examining with diligence and candour the feelings, limits, and bias of his own mind, eſtimating his means of information, and earneſtly ſeeking to diſcover, with a view of mitigating, their effects, the predilections, antipathies, hopes, and fears by which he is actuated. If theſe are ſuffered to operate in diſcolouring the narrative, which ought to be given with the moſt candour, the Author is guilty of a fraud in announcing his Work as a *Hiſtory*; it is, at the utmoſt but an Hiſtorical Eſſay, in which the Writer aſſuming the part of a diſputant, bends facts, characters, and circumſtances to his own views; falſifies, ſuppreſſes, or perverts them, to ſuit his purpoſes; and inſtead of informing, ſeeks only to perſuade, ſeduce, or corrupt the reader.

WORKS written in this manner, and publiſhed under the denomination of Hiſtory, are filled with redundant and indiſcriminate praiſe of ſome individuals; while others are loaded with malevolent and unſparing abuſe. To juſtify theſe extremes, Authors imagine, for the perſonages of their narratives, a conſiſtent uniformity of intention and conduct, which truth never has been able to pourtray; nor a careful inſpector of human life to diſcern. That men ſhould be ſtedfaſtly patriotic, and, in their purſuit of the public good, always temperate, juſt, and ſelf-denying, is very deſirable; but the hiſtorian feels, with regret, the neceſſity of recording the aberrations of the moſt elevated minds; and that work muſt be a romance, not a hiſtory, which fails to ſhew that individuals, whoſe general views have been directed to the benefit of their country, have been, in occaſional acts, raſh, vain, factious, arbitrary, or abſurd. Such are the materials preſented by the courſe of events, that a party writer, taking the bright or the clouded parts of characters, receiving with avidity the vehement aſſertions of panegyriſts or

detractors, and ſuppreſſing the facts or obſervations on the other ſide, may, for the moment, make almoſt any impreſſion, without foregoing the appearance of candour; but truth will, in time, forcibly appeal againſt ſuch miſrepreſentations; and the gloſs of exaggerated applauſe, and the blots of unmerited cenſure being removed, her intereſting features will be contemplated with a regard heightened in conſequence of the temporary concealment.

It may be doubted, whether the period is yet arrived, when the conſpicuous perſons of the preſent reign can be ſo impartially reviewed. The heat of party conteſt has rendered the public ſo familiar with calumniatory declamation, that the hiſtorian incurs ſome riſk in venturing to diſmiſs from his vocabulary certain abuſive phraſes, or in preſuming to doubt of certain ſuppoſed political facts ſo gravely advanced, and ſo forcibly urged by the wiſe and the eloquent. He expoſes himſelf to a ſtill greater hazard in attempting to reſcue from long accredited imputations, characters, whom the enmity of faction, and the greedy credulity of the public, have conſecrated to obloquy; and in venturing to ſhew, that in many inſtances unbluſhing calumny has been miſtaken for ſober truth, faction for patriotiſm, and ſelfiſhneſs for public ſpirit.

Such has often been the nature of my taſk; in the execution of which, it has been my endeavour to avoid a too common error; I have not, in order to illuſtrate the principles and conduct of one man whom I thought injured, retaliated on his opponents. I have been ſlow in imputing to individuals thoſe baſe deſigns againſt either Liberty or Government, which have been ſo profuſely aſſigned to them. I have generally found in the ſtate of party connexions, and the legitimate objects of honourable ambition, ſufficient means of accounting for the actions of men either poſſeſſed of or ſtruggling for power, without feigning as a cauſe of their conduct, an exceſs of mental depravity

pravity or political turpitude, which is characteriſtic neither of the nation, nor the times on which I have treated.

I WILL not affect to conceal, that a regard for the conſtitution of my country, both in Church and State, ever preſent to my mind, has diffuſed itſelf through my Work. I have treated that conſtitution not as a project, but as an eſtabliſhment, entitled to veneration from every obſerver, and to ſupport from all thoſe whom birth or accident has made partakers of its bleſſings. I have not therefore lent my approbation to crude reforms, or to the conduct of individuals, who, for purpoſes of ambition, have endeavoured to unſettle that which was fixed, and more than once ſucceeded in exciting the public mind to a dangerous ferment of diſaffection. But in that attachment to the conſtitution, I have not, I truſt, betrayed an indecent violence againſt thoſe whom I conſidered its aſſailants; I have endeavoured to aſſign to them and to their opponents, indeed to every man, whether exalted or obſcure, illuſtrious from merit, or degraded by crime, his real motives, and true courſe of conduct.

I HAVE never been able, nor has the courſe of my reading given me the inclination to coincide with thoſe authors or orators who are pleaſed to inveigh, with almoſt indiſcriminate ſeverity, againſt the foreign and domeſtic government of Great Britain. Theſe highly ſeaſoned invectives may be gratifying to ſome readers; and to them the more plain, tranquil narrative of undiſguiſed fact may ſeem inſipid: but reputation derived from ſuch ſources has never been the object of my deſire; I confine myſelf with ſtrict forbearance to the paths where I expect to find certain truth, and do not, in order to be thought courageous, attack where I am ſure not to be encountered, nor calumniate thoſe who by ſtation, circumſtances, time, or death, are rendered undeſirous or incapable of reſentment. Far from envying the applauſes obtained by

by thoſe diſciples of Therſites, who claim the merit of wit and courage by rancorous abuſe on the ſovereign, government, and conſtitution of the country; I can without heſitation declare my opinion, that in the period on which I have written, the throne has been filled by a monarch who has ſought the love of his ſubjects through the means of public ſpirit and private virtue; and who has tempered a noble deſire to preſerve from degradation the authority he inherits, with a firm and juſt regard to the conſtitution and liberties which conducted him to the throne, and which will ever form its beſt ſupports. Far from thinking that the aims of ſucceſſive adminiſtrations have been directed to overthrow the liberties and conſtitution of the country, I am perſuaded that liberty has been better underſtood, and more effectually and practically promoted during this period, than in any which preceded; and that the affairs of government have been always honeſtly, though ſometimes imprudently, and in the conſpicuous inſtance of the American war, unſucceſsfully adminiſtered.

But whatever credit may be given, or whatever cenſure directed, to the motives or intention of an hiſtorian, the information he imparts will contribute more than any other cauſe, to the permanent eſtabliſhment of his character. Opinions vary, fade, are forgotten; applauſe and blame are transferred from public characters, according to the mutability of general opinion; but the narrative of fact will ever claim attention; and the hiſtorian, who has beſtowed the greateſt portion of diligence and judgment on this part of his ſubject, will be moſt permanently eſteemed. In the honeſt hope of this approbation, I have exerted every faculty of my mind; adverted to every attainable ſource of intelligence within my knowledge, and omitted no labour of inquiry or compariſon, to furniſh a performance ſatisfactory to the reader and creditable to myſelf.

For the general maſs and outlines of events, I have explored with diligence the diurnal, monthly, and annual ſtores of information; repoſitories in which, if there is much to reject and contemn, there are alſo copious, uſeful, and certain details, important records of ſentiments, tranſactions, and publications, and a large ſtock of indiſpenſable information; though not in itſelf ſufficient to form the materials of hiſtory.

In aid of theſe, I have referred to an ample collection of pamphlets, narratives, hiſtorical and political tracts, which the freedom of the preſs has copiouſly afforded in gratification of the public curioſity.

In teſtimony of the authenticity of my narrative, I have been ſcrupulouſly exact in citing my authorities, generally at the page, but at leaſt at the chapter or ſection of the works referred to. In this I conſulted my own reputation, not for extenſive reading, but for veracity of narration; for, had an oſtentation of labour been my object, I could eaſily have ſwelled into tedioufneſs the catalogue of works I have been obliged to peruſe, without deriving from them any fact ſufficiently important for commemoration.

The principal exceptions to the rule of preciſe citation are the common facts which are well known and undiſputed; and which are preſerved in all the periodical compilations.

An apology may perhaps appear neceſſary for the length at which ſome of the parliamentary debates are recited; but thoſe who conſider the great efforts employed in the ſenate, during the whole of this reign, and the effects of parliamentary eloquence in guiding the public mind, will not think the narrative of theſe diſcuſſions too minute. No part of my taſk has been more laborious, more difficult, or delicate, than that of ſelecting the moſt forcible reaſons urged on each ſide, and impartially giving to both their utmoſt intereſt. In performing this part of my undertaking,

undertaking, I have found much previous miſrepreſentation to correct; many arguments, given as unanſwered, ably refuted; many aſſertions and ſpeculations attributed to particular ſpeakers, unrecorded, uttered by others, or accompanied by qualifying additions, which totally varied the ſenſe from that which is impreſſed on the public. In general I have preferred the hiſtorical mode; recapitulating the chief arguments on each ſide in a maſs; but from this practice, the reader will find occaſional deviations; firſt, where any member has, from peculiar circumſtances, or a celebrated diſplay of eloquence, rendered himſelf eminently conſpicuous; ſecondly, where the nature of the queſtion has been ſuch as to render the ſentiments of each ſpeaker, and his mode of enforcing them, worthy of ſpecific notice. The debates on thoſe meaſures againſt the town of Boſton, which occaſioned the American war, are the moſt conſpicuous examples of the latter mode of detail. For theſe diſcuſſions, I have been obliged to rely on the collection of debates publiſhed by Almon and Debrett; a work which is in many inſtances tinged with party prejudice; and in ſome, disfigured by negligence, but which is nevertheleſs the only permanent and regular record of thoſe intereſting exertions which have given a character to the foreign and domeſtic acts of the nation, and which the hiſtorian is indiſpenſably obliged to relate. The votes, journals, and reports of parliament, have formed a valuable addition, and frequently furniſhed the means of correcting the miſtakes of the parliamentary regiſter.

In narrating the progreſs of the American war, I have relied in great part on Stedman's hiſtory of that conteſt; though not ſo implicitly as to omit conſulting other printed, authorities, which the reader will ſee referred to in every chapter. But I have been enabled to obtain documents on this ſubject which were never before thrown open to the hiſtorian, and private information

information from perſons of the firſt talent and character, who poſſeſſed the moſt ample means of imparting intelligence.

MANY hitherto unnoticed narratives of tranſactions in Ireland are preſerved in periodical compilations; of theſe I have diligently availed myſelf, but have derived much more important information from valuable unpubliſhed documents with which I have been favoured.

ON the affairs of India, I have diligently conſulted and placed my chief reliance on the reports publiſhed by parliament. The events of Mr. Haſtings's government are omitted in the preſent Work, as I conſidered their more natural and proper ſituation to be in the interval between the peace of 1783, and the period when new regulations were adopted for the government of the Aſiatic territories. Theſe tranſactions will engage my early attention, when I proceed in continuation of my preſent Work.

I HAVE on many occaſions referred to private information, and epiſtolary documents. On this head, I am peculiarly obliged to Henry Penruddock Wyndham, eſquire, member of parliament for the county of Wilts, for his liberal communication of the Melcombe Papers, which afforded much new and intereſting information on the character and conduct of Lord Bute, and from which I have been enabled to inſert ſome valuable letters in the Appendix. I am alſo proud to expreſs my grateful acknowledgements to the Reverend William Coxe, for giving me unlimited acceſs to his valuable and extenſive collection of ſtate papers and hiſtorical documents. Nothing could be more gratifying to my ambition, or more honourable to my character, than a diſtinct recapitulation of the other perſons to whom I am obliged on theſe ſubjects; but their delicacy forbids the public homage of my gratitude, and I ſhould ſhew myſelf unworthy of confidence, if I ſuffered hints or deſcriptions to eſcape me which

would lead from conjecture to certainty, and indirectly baffle the wiſhes of thoſe who in this inſtance have a right to command. I have, however, in a ſhort appendix to each volume, given a few papers extracted from the principal correſpondence to which I have had recourſe, not as containing the whole body of that evidence in ſupport of the facts advanced, but as a teſt of my veracity, and as an object of reference through which, by conſulting with living witneſſes, the reality of my authorities, and my fidelity in reciting them, may be fully eſtabliſhed.

THE length of this preface will ſhew, that which I have no deſire to conceal, my ſolicitude for the favourable reception of this Work. I do not court the aid of party to reſcue it from cenſure; for it is ſo compoſed, that I know not to what party I ſhould apply; but I depend with confidence, though not without anxiety, on the candid judgment of all parties; reſting my principal hope on a conſciouſneſs of my own good intentions, and on a recollection of the pains I have taken to procure accurate and copious information, and to relate with proper temper the progreſs of political conteſts, unprecedented both in their nature and effects.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE Author offers this new Edition of the HISTORY of ENGLAND, with the warmeſt ſentiments of gratitude for the reception it has met with from the Public. He has not been negligent in reviſing the ſtyle but has found no occaſion to vary any fact or retract any ſentiment he had originally advanced.

Warren Street,
16th April 1805.

PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD EDITION.

THE continued approbation of the public, which has rendered a Third Edition of this Work neceſſary, demands from the Author a renewed aſſurance of his gratitude, and affords him occaſion to expreſs the ſenſibility with which he feels this flattering teſtimony of the utility of his labours. This Edition varies only in a few unimportant particulars from thoſe which preceded. The ſtyle has been diligently reviſed, and ſome ſlight additional circumſtances have been derived from publications which have lately appeared, or which had eſcaped the attention of the Author when the former Editions went to the Preſs.

Temple,
17th April 1810.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

GEORGE THE THIRD.

CHAPTER THE FIRST:

1760—1761.

The King's acceſſion —Retroſpect of his education and connexions.—Brief account of the principal perſons compoſing the miniſtry. — Firſt tranſactions on the death of George II.— The King's addreſs to the council. — The Duke of York and Lord Bute privy councillors. — The King's friendſhip for Lord Bute. — Character of that nobleman. — New ſyſtem of government planned. — Popularity of the King. — Meeting of Parliament. — The King's ſpeech. — Addreſſes. — Civil Liſt. — Supplies. — Commiſſions of the Judges made permanent, and their ſalaries increaſed. — Speaker Onſlow retires with a penſion and honours. — Diſſolution of Parliament. — The King's deſire of peace. — Cauſes of the popularity of the war. — Arguments againſt it. — Mr. Pitt zealous in proſecuting the war. — Changes in the miniſtry. — Lord Bute ſecretary of ſtate.

GEORGE the Second was ſucceeded by his grandſon, the ſon of Frederick Prince of Wales, and of Auguſta Princeſs of Saxe Gotha, who had recently completed his twenty-ſecond year. 1760. The King's acceſſion Oct. 25th.

SINCE the death of his father, the Heir Apparent had reſided entirely with the Princeſs Dowager, who attended to his education with maternal ſolicitude. The party, which, during the life of Prince Frederick, Retroſpect of his education and connexions.

CHAP. I.

derick, had been conſidered as devoted to his intereſt, was, ſince his death, entirely diſſolved. The princeſs herſelf did not encourage any oppoſition to government; and the individuals, whom hope or affection attached to the late Prince, had retired from the field of politics, or formed new connexions.

YET the education of a prince, who was in time to govern a mighty kingdom, was not regarded with indifference by thoſe whoſe intereſts might be affected by the aſcendancy of rivals, or who feared that if the Princeſs herſelf obtained the influence, which, from her ſituation might be naturally expected, new arrangements would be made, unfavourable to their views and prejudices.

UNFORTUNATELY, George II. entertained a conſtant jealouſy and ſuſpicion of the Princeſs, which, long cheriſhed, had grown into diſlike, and made thoſe who were deſirous of retaining his favour, carefully avoid all apparent intercourſe with his daughter-in-law; by which means the young Prince was wholly unacquainted with the ſentiments and manners of thoſe who formed his grandfather's court. This neglect extended even to the royal family; and the Duke of Cumberland and Princeſs Amelia, ſhewed no marks of attention and reſpect to the heir apparent and his mother[a].

ENCOURAGED by theſe circumſtances, and actuated by views of ambition, Lord Harcourt, who had been appointed governor to the young Prince, and Dr. Hayter, Biſhop of Norwich, who filled the poſt of preceptor, not only exerted their influence to detach his affections from all thoſe who had enjoyed the favour of his deceaſed parent, but alſo by their example and diſcourſe, imparted ſentiments of diſreſpect toward the Princeſs Dowager; for which, at a ſubſequent period, the Prince acknowledged his error with honeſt contrition, and ſuitable apolo-

[a] Lord Melcombe's Diary, p 175. 217, et paſſim.

gies.

gies[b]. In conſequence of theſe efforts, diviſions aroſe among thoſe to whom the inſtruction of the Heir Apparent was confided, and a repreſentation was made to the King, that Mr. Stone, ſub-governor of His Royal Highneſs, was an improper perſon to be intruſted with his education; he was ſtated to be a man of Jacobite principles, and accuſed of having, more than twenty years before that time, drunk the Pretender's health in public. The matter was referred by the King to the cabinet council; the charge was frivolous, and wholly unſupported; Mr. Stone was heard in his own defence, as were alſo Mr. Murray the ſolicitor general, afterward Earl of Mansfield, and Dr. Johnſon, Biſhop of Glouceſter, who being implicated in the ſuppoſed crime, ſolicited permiſſion to vindicate their own characters. They all acquitted themſelves in a manner perfectly ſatisfactory, and the lords unanimouſly repreſented to the King that there was no foundation for any part of the charge[c]. CHAP. I. 1757.

In conſequence of this deciſion, Lord Harcourt and the Biſhop of Norwich declared their reſolution to reſign unleſs Mr. Stone, Mr. Scott, ſub-preceptor to the Prince, and Mr. Creſſet ſecretary to the Princeſs Dowager, were diſmiſſed. The allegation againſt them was, that they cheriſhed Jacobite principles, and inſtilled arbitrary notions into the Prince. The King received this unfounded complaint with due indifference, and accepted the proffered reſignations: Lord Waldegrave was appointed governor, and the Biſhop of Peterborough[d] preceptor.

A most unjuſtifiable attempt was made to intereſt the public in this diſpute: an anonymous letter was received by a popular preacher[e], adviſing him to notice in the pulpit the Prince's dangerous edu-

[b] Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 29.
[c] From private information, and Lord Melcombe's Diary.
[d] Dr. John Thomas, afterwards Biſhop of Salisbury and Wincheſter.
[e] Dr. Newton of St. George's Hanover Square. See Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 199.

CHAP. I. 1752.

cation; and another was tranſmitted to General Hawley, purporting to be a repreſentation or remonſtrance from the Whig nobility and gentry, containing many injurious reflections on the manner in which the Prince was inſtructed, and on the principles of his attendants [f]. The apparent motive for ſending this letter was, that the general ſhould give it to the Duke of Cumberland, and that he would lay it before the King, and make ſuch impreſſions as were favourable to the views of the writers.

22d March 1753.

THE accuſation againſt the Biſhop of Glouceſter and Meſſrs. Murray and Stone was ſubſequently diſcuſſed in the Houſe of Lords on a motion for an addreſs, praying His Majeſty to ſubmit to the houſe the whole proceeding before the privy council. The buſineſs was fully and freely inveſtigated, as the King had granted diſpenſations to the members of the cabinet from the obligation of their oath as privy-counſellors. The debate was long and heavy, but the houſe perfectly coinciding in opinion with the council, only three peers and one biſhop divided with the Duke of Bedford, who made the motion [g].

THE public, whom this diſcuſſion was principally intended to alarm, eaſily diſcerned that the chief object was to remove the Pelham miniſtry, and to ſeparate the Prince from the perſon and care of his parent; but all good men were ſatisfied that he ſhould continue under her direction, and that ſhe ſhould preſerve that influence over him which nature and policy equally declared to be her due.

FROM the ſatisfaction with which the Prince received the inſtructions of his new preceptor, the Biſhop of Peterborough, the moſt ſanguine hopes were entertained that the royal pupil would derive much advantage from his tuition [h]. To impart a

[f] Lord Melcombe's Diary, p 189 to 201; and ſee the memorial in the ſame work, p. 387.

[g] Idem, p. 229.

[h] Idem, p 211.

knowledge

knowledge of books was not the difficulty, in that particular no deficiency was complained of; but it was neceſſary to imbue the mind of the future ſovereign with juſt notions of the Britiſh conſtitution and juriſprudence, and enable him to eſtimate correctly the national wealth and reſources, and the means of preſerving and increaſing them[i]. It was a great object of the Princeſs's care to educate her ſon in the principles and conſtant practice of religion; and with this view, ſhe invited the learned and pious Dr. Stephen Hales into her family, and appointed him clerk of the cloſet. Her good intentions were greatly favoured by the diſpoſition of the Prince, who was affectionate, gentle, and exempt from every appearance of vicious inclination. The dread which the Princeſs conſtantly entertained, that his morals would be contaminated by the example of the young nobility, prevented his mixing with them in familiar intercourſe, and his acquaintance was almoſt confined to the ſocial circle of Leiceſter-houſe; which was ſelect, cheerful, and unreſtrained[k].

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On attaining his majority, the Prince took his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers; but there was no debate in that ſeſſion.

Characters of the principal miniſters.

The King found, on his acceſſion, an able adminiſtration, ſtrong from the combination of parties, and popular from uninterrupted ſucceſs.

The Duke of Newcaſtle.

The Duke of Newcaſtle was the oſtenſible head of this miniſtry. A veteran in the ſervice of government, he was conſidered the leader of the Whig party, and during a period of forty-three years

[i] It was the intention of the Biſhop of Norwich to have procured, for the inſtruction of his royal pupil, ſuch a treatiſe as would convey a clear and comprehenſive information on the ſubject of national commerce; and Dr. Tucker, the learned and celebrated Dean of Gloucester, was requeſted to prepare ſuch a work; he engaged in it, but, for very judicious reaſons, declined the accompliſhment of his taſk. See preface to Tucker's Four Tracts, p. ix.

[k] Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 170. 188. 255. 259.

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filled a high ſituation at court and in the cabinet. His princely fortune and extenſive influence rendered him a powerful coadjutor, and his uniform zeal in promoting the ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Brunſwick endeared him to the great majority of the Whigs, as the champion of that cauſe. In his temper he was fretful, capricious, and jealous of thoſe who rivalled his political aſcendancy. This jealouſy, which formed the leading feature of his character, was reſtrained by the ſuperior talents and authority of Sir Robert Walpole, but, on his retreat, it became uncontrolled, and engendered perpetual altercations with ſucceeding miniſters, not excepting even his own brother, Mr. Pelham. Some peculiarities in his manner, and a want of method in the tranſaction of buſineſs, expoſed him to ridicule. He was trifling and embarraſſed in converſation, always eager and in a hurry, unbounded in adulation, and profuſe in promiſes. Yet the Duke of Newcaſtle poſſeſſed much greater abilities than are uſually attributed to him: he had a quick comprehenſion, was an uſeful and frequent debater, ſpoke with great animation, wrote with uncommon facility, and was perfect maſter of foreign affairs. He filled the office of ſecretary of ſtate from 1723, to the death of Mr. Pelham in 1754, when he became firſt lord of the treaſury. When placed at the head of affairs, he was diſtracted with the multiplicity of buſineſs: weakneſs of councils, fluctuation of opinions, and deficiency of ſpirit, marked his adminiſtration. In 1744, he ſtrengthened himſelf by a coalition with the Tories and the Whigs in oppoſition to government, and formed the adminiſtration which was ludicrouſly termed the *broad bottom*. The diſcordant parts of this motley combination were principally cemented by the conciliating manners of Mr. Pelham; but on his death in 1754, diſſenſions broke out, and after many ineffectual attempts to form a permanent adminiſtration, (during which the Duke made a temporary reſig-

reſignation in November 1756, and continued out of office till July 1757) that cabinet was arranged which continued, without eſſential alteration, till the period at which this hiſtory commences. The Duke of Newcaſtle ſtill retained the controul of domeſtic affairs, and the patronage of the church; but the conduct of the war, and the management of the houſe of commons, were committed to Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. PITT commenced his political career as a Whig, in oppoſition to Sir Robert Walpole, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ſplendour and energy of his eloquence. He was an adherent of Lord Cobham; attached himſelf to Frederick Prince of Wales, and in 1737 was appointed groom of his bed-chamber. He continued in oppoſition till the formation of the broad-bottom miniſtry. In 1746, he was nominated vice-treaſurer of Ireland, and in the ſame year paymaſter of the forces; but the antipathy of the King, in conſequence of his acrimony in cenſuring German meaſures, overcome the repeated efforts of the Duke of Newcaſtle to introduce him into the cabinet. At length, the irreſiſtible ſuperiority of his talents bore down every obſtacle; in 1757 the king, ſenſible of the weakneſs of the miniſtry, and alarmed at the ill ſucceſs of the war, reluctantly conſented to appoint him ſecretary of ſtate, a ſituation which, during the temporary retreat of the Duke of Newcaſtle, he had held for about four months[1]. Thus Mr. Pitt, according to the current expreſſion of the day, "took the cabinet by ſtorm," but from this moment Great Britain aſſumed a formidable poſition. Mr. Pitt relinquiſhed his oppoſition to continental connexions; conſtant ſucceſs attended him; his commanding eloquence, the wiſdom of his plans, the vigour of his exertions, together with the ſtrength of his

[1] Dec. 1766 to April 1757.

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Lord Temple. Mr. PITT was ſupported in the cabinet by his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, who ſucceeded to the influence and eſtate of his uncle, Lord Cobham. He was diſtinguiſhed for his parliamentary abilities, and much reſpected and beloved by his adherents.

Lord Granville. LORD GRANVILLE, better known under the title of Lord Carteret, was preſident of the council. At an early period of life he was ſecretary of ſtate, and ord lieutenant of Ireland. Being diſmiſſed in the reign of George I. he joined the oppoſition againſt Sir Robert Walpole; and, on his reſignation, was reſtored to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, became the favourite of the King, and took the lead in the conduct of foreign affairs. After an ineffectual ſtruggle with Newcaſtle for pre-eminence, he reſigned in February 1745. In 1751 he was appointed preſident of the council, and retained that office till his death. He was a man of great talents and literary acquirements; indefatigable in buſineſs, of commanding eloquence, and converſant in foreign affairs. To thoſe who conſidered his eminent capacity, and arrogant diſpoſition, it was a matter of ſurpriſe that he ſubmitted to the aſcendancy of the Pelhams, and accepted a ſituation which, though more elevated in dignity, was of inferior importance.

Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox, paymaſter of the forces, was a friend and active ſupporter of Sir Robert Walpole; and from his firſt entrance into parliament had almoſt uniformly promoted the meaſures of government.

Under

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Under Mr. Pelham, he acted in the capacity of lord of the treaſury and ſecretary at war; he was then content to fill a ſubordinate department in the Houſe of Commons; but, on the death of Mr. Pelham, thought himſelf entitled to manage the houſe, and contended with Mr. Pitt for pre-eminence. After a long ſeries of cabals he gained a momentary aſcendancy, and on the fourteenth of November 1755 was appointed ſecretary of ſtate; but in November 1756 he reſigned, and on the fifth of July 1757, became paymaſter of the forces. Mr. Fox, was of an acute and penetrating genius, and active in buſineſs. His ſpeeches were replete with information, method, and ſenſe, but he wanted that nervous and irreſiſtible eloquence which characterized Mr. Pitt. His manners were conciliatory, and few men had more perſonal friends [m].

SEVERAL of the remaining members of adminiſtration were highly reſpectable for talents and integrity; amongſt whom muſt be noticed lord keeper, afterwards Lord Chancellor Northington, the Duke of Devonſhire, lord chamberlain, Mr. Legge, chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Anſon, firſt lord of the admiralty, and Lord Holderneſſe, ſecretary of ſtate.

1760. First tranſactions on the death of George II.

ALTHOUGH the advanced age of George II. rendered his deceaſe not improbable, yet that event was entirely unexpected. He was afflicted with no diſeaſe, teſtified no uneaſineſs of mind or depreſſion of ſpirits, but ſhewed his uſual cheerfulneſs and alacrity: and from the great ſucceſs which had attended the late meaſures, the blaze of conſtant victory, and the popularity of the miniſtry, perhaps there never was a monarch whoſe death was leſs deſired.

THE event occaſioned much conſternation at

[m] In delineating theſe characters, much information has been derived from the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, and from the perſonal communications of the author of that excellent work.

court,

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court, and the intelligence was immediately carried to the ſecretaries of ſtate. The great officers of the crown were convened, and Mr. Pitt repaired to Kew for the purpoſe of announcing to the new ſovereign his acceſſion. The King, having received ſome intimation of the event before Mr. Pitt's arrival, was prepared for the occaſion, and immediately proceeded to London.

MEANWHILE a council, aſſembled at Savile houſe, was directed to attend at Carleton houſe, the reſidence of the Princeſs Dowager, where they met the King, and tranſacted buſineſs of form. The young ſovereign appeared agitated and embarraſſed by the novelty of his ſituation, and want of acquaintance with the perſons by whom he was ſurrounded; yet his conduct gave general ſatisfaction, and afforded the preſage of a prudent and happy reign.

The King's addreſs to the council.

HIS addreſs to the council, which was publiſhed by their requeſt, is a ſpecimen of dignified modeſty and unaſſuming firmneſs: "The loſs that I "and the nation have ſuſtained by the death of "the king, my grandfather, would have been "ſeverely felt at any time; but coming at ſo "critical a juncture, and ſo unexpected, it is by "many circumſtances augmented, and the weight "now falling on me much increaſed: I feel my "own inſufficiency to ſupport it as I wiſh, but "animated by the tendereſt affection for my native "country, and depending upon the advice, ex-"perience, and abilities of your lordſhips, on "the ſupport of every honeſt man, I enter with "cheerfulneſs into this arduous ſituation, and ſhall "make it the buſineſs of my life to promote, "in every thing, the glory and happineſs of "theſe kingdoms, to preſerve and ſtrengthen the "conſtitution in both church and ſtate: and, "as I mount the throne in the midſt of an ex-"penſive, but juſt and neceſſary war, I ſhall en-"deavour

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"deavour to profecute it in the manner the moſt "likely to bring on an honourable and laſting "peace, in concert with my allies."

26th Oct. King proclaimed.

THE King having been proclaimed in the uſual form on the day after his acceſſion, held a council at St. James's on the enſuing day, when his brother the Duke of York, and the Earl of Bute, were ſworn in as members[n]. The liturgy was alſo directed to be altered in thoſe parts where prayers are ſaid for the royal family. Theſe circumſtances in themſelves would not claim any notice, but ſome offence was taken at the time, and it was afterwards a ſource of frequent animadverſion, that the Duke of Cumberland and the Princeſs Amelia, who were before particularly mentioned, were now only included in the general term, *and all the royal family*. This change was merely a point of etiquette, and not made in conſequence of the diſlike which the Princeſs Dowager entertained againſt the Duke and Princeſs, but the popularity of the Duke of Cumberland became a medium through which much abuſe, vented againſt the King and the Princeſs Dowager, was afterwards rendered agreeable to the public[o].

27th. The Duke of York and Lord Bute privy counſellors.

[n] The early introduction of Lord Bute to the privy council has been deſcanted on by many writers as a ſingular circumſtance, but it is not in the leaſt extraordinary: it was cuſtomary for the King to continue his houſehold ſervants in the ſame capacities which they held under him while Prince of Wales; Lord Bute being groom of the ſtole to the Prince, was therefore continued by the King, and the holder of that office is always conſtituted a privy-counſellor.

[o] The words in the prayer referring to the Duke of Cumberland and Princeſs Amelia were "*The Duke and Princeſſes*:" but the rank of the royal family (except the Prince of Wales, who always ſtands next the King, as Heir Apparent) is regulated by their proximity to the ſovereign on the throne; thus the Duke of Cumberland and Princeſs Amelia, as children of George II., took precedence of the youngeſt children of Prince Frederick: on the acceſſion of George III. their poſitions were altered; the brother of the ſovereign then preceded his uncle in rank: conſequently it would have been abſurd to retain in the prayer the words, "the Duke and Princeſſes," without firſt inſerting ſome word equally deſcriptive of the King's brothers and ſiſters, which would have been not only unuſual, but inconvenient and ridiculous, on account of its length.

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1760. Character of Lord Bute.

THE King's friendſhip for the Earl of Bute led to extenſive and permanent conſequences. John Earl of Bute was ſon of James ſecond Earl of Bute, by Ann Campbell daughter of Archibald firſt Duke of Argyle. He received his education at Eton; and at an early period of his life was introduced to the houſehold of Frederick Prince of Wales, to whom he was lord of the bed-chamber. On the death of the Prince he retired to the country, and took no ſhare in political tranſactions, though he was often conſulted by the Princeſs. On the eſtabliſhment of the young Prince's houſehold he was appointed groom of the ſtole, in which place he was continued after his acceſſion. He had not occupied any public office; was unacquainted with the buſineſs and intrigues of ſtate; and although he poſſeſſed an active mind, replete with elegant and abſtruſe learning, and was well acquainted with the theory of the Britiſh conſtitution[p], he was not competent to the taſk of inſtructing a young Prince in the practical ſcience of governing a kingdom, where the component parts of the legiſlature are ſo nicely balanced, and their reſpective powers and operations ſo ſtrictly guarded. It could not afford ground of ſurprize that the King, young and unacquainted with the perſons of thoſe who formed a ſucceſsful and popular adminiſtration, ſhould place among his confidential ſervants, a nobleman whom he had long eſteemed, and who poſſeſſed the good opinion of his parent in an eminent degree: it could not be a ſubject of animadverſion, that ſuch a perſon ſhould obtain an ample portion of the King's regard; nor would this circumſtance have affected the courſe of political affairs, had not a new ſyſtem followed his introduction into the cabinet.

[p] The King derived from the converſation of Lord Bute his principal knowledge of the conſtitution: and Lord Bute obtained from Blackſtone the moſt intereſting parts of his commentaries on the laws of England while in MS. and laid them before the Prince for his inſtruction.

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THE laſt two monarchs being foreigners, and oppoſed by a native prince who had numerous adherents, as well among the people as in ſome of the moſt illuſtrious houſes, confided a large portion of their power to a few diſtinguiſhed families, in order to ſecure poſſeſſion of the crown. Theſe families, ſtrengthened by union and excluſive influence, became not only independent of, but, in many reſpects, ſuperior to the throne. Swayed by a predilection for their continental dominions, the firſt two ſovereigns of the houſe of Hanover incurred ſevere animadverſions from the members of oppoſition; and the neceſſity of frequent juſtifications rendering them ſtill more dependent on the leaders of the miniſterial party, reduced them almoſt to a ſtate of pupilage.

New ſyſtem of government planned.

BUT the new King, being exempt from foreign partialities, aſcending the throne at a period when the claims of the exiled family were fallen into contempt, was enabled to emancipate himſelf from the reſtraint to which his anceſtors had ſubmitted. The Earl of Bute formed the plan of breaking the phalanx which conſtituted and ſupported the miniſtry, and of ſecuring the independence of the crown, by a moderate exertion of the conſtitutional prerogative. This plan in itſelf was well conceived, and neceſſary; but the Earl of Bute was not a proper perſon to carry it into effect. He was not connected either by blood or by familiar intercourſe, with the leading families in England; he was not verſed in the arts of popularity, nor uſed to the ſtruggles of parliamentary oppoſition; and his manners were cold, reſerved, and unconciliating. Prejudices were eaſily excited againſt him as a native of Scotland, and he could only oppoſe to a popular and triumphant adminiſtration, and a long eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, ſuch friends as hope or intereſt might ſupply, and the perſonal eſteem of the king, which was rendered leſs valuable by the odium attached to the name of favourite.

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Popularity of the King.

THE conflicts of party did not immediately commence. The King at his acceſſion was highly popular; his proclamations for repreſſing vice and immorality, gave general ſatisfaction; loyal and affectionate addreſſes poured in from every part of the realm, and all regret for the late King ſeemed to be buried with him.

26th Oct. Meeting of Parliament.

THE parliament met immediately on the King's acceſſion[q]; it was to cloſe in one more ſeſſion; but the ſeaſon being inconvenient for a diſſolution, it was reſolved to await the period of its natural extinction. After a ſhort prorogation[r], to give

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time for previous arrangements, the King opened the ſeſſion. It was remarked, that there never was in the memory of the oldeſt perſons ſuch a numerous concourſe of all ranks on any ſimilar occaſion, nor ſuch unanimous teſtimonies of applauſe. The public prepoſſeſſion, increaſed by the King's affable and gracious demeanour, was carried to the greateſt height by the patriotic ſentiments contained in the ſpeech.

The King's Speech.

HE began by expreſſing his regret at the death of his grandfather at ſo critical and difficult a conjuncture, as he was the great ſupport of that ſyſtem, by which alone the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of theſe kingdoms, could be preſerved, and gave life to the meaſures conducive to thoſe important ends.

AFTER declaring his reliance on the affection of his people, and the goodneſs of Providence, His Majeſty uſed theſe words: "BORN AND EDU-"CATED IN THIS COUNTRY, I GLORY IN THE "NAME OF BRITON: *and the peculiar happineſs* "*of my life will ever conſiſt in promoting the wel-*"*fare of a people, whoſe loyalty and warm affection* "*to me I conſider as the greateſt and moſt perma-*"*nent ſecurity of my throne*[s]; and I doubt not but "their

[q] It met on Sunday in purſuance of a ſtatute of William III. the ſubſtantial parts of which are re-enacted in one of Queen Anne, requiring the Parliament to meet, convene and ſit, immediately on the death of a ſovereign. See Hatſell's Precedents, vol. 2. pp. 197. 286.

[r] From the 8th to the 18th of November.

[s] After the draught of this ſpeech had been ſettled by the cabinet, an addition was made to it in His Majeſty's own hand, which became the ſubject of ſome

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"their ſteadineſs in thoſe principles will equal the "firmneſs of my invariable reſolution to adhere "to and ſtrengthen this excellent conſtitution "in church and ſtate; and to maintain the tolera-"tion inviolable. The civil and religious rights of "my loving ſubjects are equally dear to me with the "moſt valuable prerogatives of my crown, and, as "the ſureſt foundation of the whole, and the "beſt means to draw down the divine favour on "my reign, it is my fixed purpoſe to countenance "and encourage the practice of true religion "and virtue."

In the progreſs of his ſpeech, the King deſcanted, with becoming ſatisfaction, on the proſperous efforts of the Britiſh force in Canada and India, and on the ſucceſsful exertion of the allied arms in Germany; he mentioned, in ſtrong terms of approbation, the benefits which the national commerce had derived from the judicious diſpoſition of the navy, and paid a juſt and honourable tribute of applauſe to the valour and intrepidity of the officers and forces both at ſea and land.

Having thus completely reviewed the ſtate of the nation, the King ſaid, "In this condition I "have found things at my acceſſion to the throne "of my anceſtors; happy in viewing the proſperous "part of it: happier ſtill ſhould I have been had "I found my kingdoms, whoſe true intereſt I have "entirely at heart, in full peace: but, ſince the "ambition, injurious encroachments, and dan-"gerous deſigns of my enemies, rendered the war "both juſt and neceſſary, and the generous over-

ſome animadverſion, and compared by many of the moſt zealous of the Whig party, to the concluding part of the firſt ſpeech of Queen Anne, after her acceſſion. (See Journals, and Smollett's continuation of Hume, vol. 1. p. 447.) But at this diſtance of time, when the queſtion may be more impartially conſidered, and diſtinctly from other circumſtances, there does not appear any reaſon for imputing to the declaration of the King, that "born and educated in this country he gloried in the name of Briton," an intention of reflecting on the memory of his grandfather.

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" ture made laſt winter, towards a congreſs for a " pacification has not yet produced a ſuitable re- " turn, I am determined, with your cheerful and " powerful aſſiſtance, to proſecute this war with " vigour in order to that deſirable object, a ſafe " and honourable peace. For this purpoſe it is ab- " ſolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared; " and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence " to ſupport the King of Pruſſia, and the reſt of " my allies, and to make ample proviſion for car- " rying on the war, as the only means to bring " our enemies to equitable terms of accommo- " dation."

THEN addreſſing himſelf ſeparately to the Houſe of Commons, the King, after lamenting the greatneſs of the national burthens, expreſſed his reliance on them to provide adequate ſupplies, and to make a proper proviſion for ſupporting the civil government with honour and dignity.

IN concluſion, His Majeſty reminded both houſes that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and invoked a due regard to their own reputation, and the protection of the Proteſtant intereſt. He recommended vigour, unanimity, and diſpatch, as the beſt means of fruſtrating the ambitious and deſtructive views of his enemies, and added, " In " this expectation I am the more encouraged by a " pleaſing circumſtance, which I look upon as " one of the moſt auſpicious omens of my reign. " That happy extinction of diviſions, and that " union and good harmony, which continue to " prevail among my ſubjects, afford me the moſt " agreeable proſpect. The natural diſpoſition " and wiſh of my heart are to cement and promote " them; and I promiſe myſelf that nothing will " ariſe, on your part, to interrupt or diſturb a ſi- " tuation ſo eſſential to the true and laſting feli- " city of this great people."

THE ſentiments contained in this ſpeech, were

no leſs acceptable to the people at large, than to the members of the two houſes. The King's youth, dignity of deportment, and propriety of enunciation, gave the higheſt ſatisfaction, and thoſe who had been accuſtomed to the ſpeeches from the throne in the former reign, were relieved and gratified by hearing the King's ſpeech delivered in all the purity of Engliſh pronunciation. CHAP. I. 1760.

LOYAL addreſſes were unanimouſly voted in both houſes [a], and the commons exceeded the ordinary manifeſtations of attachment by preſenting a ſecond addreſs, thanking His Majeſty for the gracious manner in which he received the firſt. Addreſſes.

THE principal buſineſs tranſacted in this ſeſſion related to the civil liſt, and to the ſupplies [b].

THE civil liſt was fixed at eight hundred thouſand pounds, the King having ſignified his conſent, that ſuch diſpoſition might be made of the hereditary revenues of the crown, as ſhould beſt conduce to utility and the ſatisfaction of the public. Civil Liſt, 25th Nov.

THE ſupplies amounted to nineteen millions ſix hundred and ſixteen thouſand one hundred and nineteen pounds, to pay the intereſt of which ſeveral taxes were continued, and a new duty of three ſhillings per barrel impoſed on beer and ale. Supplies.

ON granting new commiſſions to the judges, the tenure of their office fell under conſideration. The King, anxious to inſure their independence and uprightneſs, recommended, in a ſpeech from 1761. 3d March. Judges made permanent.

[a] The following expreſſion in the addreſs of the Lords was peculiarly elegant and happy: "We are penetrated with the condeſcending and endearing manner in which Your Majeſty has expreſſed your ſatisfaction in having received your birth and education among us. What a luſtre does it caſt upon the name of Briton, when you, Sire, are pleaſed to eſteem it among your glories!"

[b] No act of grace was propoſed, but a bill was paſſed for the relief of inſolvent debtors, in which was a permanent clauſe, compelling them to ſubſcribe, on the requiſition of any creditor, a ſchedule of their effects, and upon doing ſo, and giving them up, they were to be diſcharged. This proviſion was dictated by humanity, but its regulations were ſo much abuſed by colluſions, that it was ſoon repealed.

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the throne, that proviſion ſhould be made for ſecuring the enjoyment of their offices, during their good behaviour, notwithſtanding the demiſe of the crown; and requeſted, that he might be enabled to grant proper ſalaries to be abſolutely ſecured to them during the continuance of their commiſſions. This wiſe and patriotic declaration, was received with merited attention; and an act paſſed, fully providing for the important objects of His Majeſty's recommendation [u].

1761. And their ſalaries augmented.

18th Mar. Speaker Onſlow retires,

WHEN the end of the ſeſſions approached, Mr. Onſlow, who for more than thirty years had filled the ſituation of ſpeaker, with unſhaken integrity, ſignified his determination to retire: a vote of thanks was unanimouſly carried, and an addreſs preſented, requeſting the King to confer on him ſome ſignal mark of favour. A penſion of three thouſand pounds was accordingly ſettled on Mr. Onſlow, with benefit of ſurvivorſhip to his ſon. This teſtimony of regard to experienced merits, and long ſervices, was extremely agreeable to the public; and the common council of London complimented the late ſpeaker with the freedom of the city in a gold box.

with a penſion and honours.

5th May.

19th Mar. 21ſt.

THE public buſineſs having been performed with the utmoſt unanimity, the King cloſed the ſeſſion, and the parliament was immediately diſſolved [x].

The King's deſire of peace.

ALTHOUGH in the declaration to the council at his acceſſion, and in his ſubſequent ſpeeches at the meeting and prorogation of parliament, the King expreſſed a determination to proſecute the war, it was his firſt and moſt earneſt wiſh to reſtore to his ſubjects the bleſſings of peace [y]. The paragraph

[u] Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 268.

[x] No memorials are preſerved of any debates in this ſeſſion; the account of the proceedings is derived from the hiſtory and proceedings of Parliament publiſhed by Debrett, and from the Journals.

[y] The King's ſpeech to Parliament, Nov. 1763.

graph

graph in the declaration to council referring to the war, was not originally expreſſed in ſuch a forcible manner; but an alteration was made by Mr. Pitt, which implied a decided approbation of the German meaſures, inſtead of mentioning them, as the King intended, in terms of coldneſs[z]. The King was thus induced to give up his own opinion, and renewed a ſubſidiary treaty with the King of Pruſſia, ſimilar to thoſe concluded by George II.[a] CHAP. I. 1761.

THE energy of Mr. Pitt, the celebrity of the King of Pruſſia, the ſucceſs of Prince Ferdinand, the increaſing glories of the Britiſh arms, and the depreſſion of the French power, contributed to render the war in the higheſt degree popular; yet many politicians apprehended fatal conſequences from its continuance, even ſhould ſucceſs attend the allied arms. Cauſes of the popularity of the war.

THEY blamed the project of carrying on a German, inſtead of a maritime, commercial, and colonial war, which was beſt adapted to the ſituation of this country, and in which we were always ſuperior to our enemies. France, they ſaid, could proſecute the conteſt in Germany for ten years, without increaſing her debt five millions ſterling, while we could not carry it on for the ſame period, without increaſing ours upwards of fifty millions; and all the advantages which might be gained over France, would not compenſate for ſuch an enormous expenditure. They treated the popular enthuſiaſm for a German war as a dangerous deluſion. The merchants, who greatly contributed to raiſe it, particularly in London, were intereſted; but the landholders ſuffered. The glory and advantage of ſweeping the ſea, coſt the land four or five millions a year. They ſuggeſted, that when the merchants ſhould loſe the advantage of contracts and furniſhments, they would repent of their alacrity, Arguments againſt it.

[z] From a memorandum by Lord Melcombe.
[a] This treaty was ſigned 12th December, 1760.

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and wiſh they had uſed their intereſt in inducing government to deſiſt, when the national honour was vindicated, and the national poſſeſſions ſecured [b].

The preſs, too, uttered without reſerve the ſame ſentiments. The abſurdity of the manner of warfare which this country had adopted was expoſed in the moſt ſtriking colours. It was aſſerted, that France by making Germany the ſeat of hoſtility could ruin this country, without materially injuring herſelf. The quarrels of any two ſtates in Europe, for whatever cauſe, were always favourable to the intereſted and ambitious views of France, who would eſpouſe the weaker ſide with a partial exertion of ſtrength, increaſing her efforts in proportion as other countries favoured the cauſe which ſhe oppoſed. The military force of France was alleged to be ſuperior to that of any other power in Europe; and by her addreſs in confining the war to Germany, England, who was her only opponent, was reduced to fight, at an immenſe expence, in a country where victory itſelf, while it weakened and diſpirited the friendly natives, could never diſtreſs the French; they only retired, after defeat, to their own frontier, whither we durſt not follow them, and always returned to the next campaign with a force ſuperior to all the efforts of Britiſh gold, and German exertion. Nor were our efforts really beneficial to the Proteſtant intereſt, which, in fact, was not endangered. The defence of Hanover was alleged to be a futile pretence for carrying on the war in Germany; the French could not annex it to their dominions, without taking poſſeſſion of ſeveral other electorates, which the conſtitution of Europe would not permit; and even if they entertained ſuch a ſcheme, the way for England to oppoſe it was not by ſending armies to Germany, but by turning to the utmoſt advantage her decided naval ſuperiority; thus ſhe might

[b] Theſe ſentiments are amply detailed in Lord Melcombe's Correſpondence.

obtain

obtain poſſeſſion of the French Weſt India iſlands, and hold them as a depoſit or guaranty for the ſecurity of Hanover. CHAP. I. 1761.

THE ſubſidy or tribute to the King of Pruſſia, was repreſented in a moſt injurious light: he received ſix hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a year to fight his own battles, and England was bound to defend him without the ſlighteſt ſtipulation on his part. This was contraſted with the important and valuable aſſiſtance which King William had prudently ſecured againſt France, from the moſt conſiderable powers of Europe, for a leſs ſum than was now paid to the King of Pruſſia alone [c].

SUCH were the opinions profeſſed in private, and patronized in public, by the Earl of Bute and his adherents. The King had, from his infancy, been accuſtomed to hear the connexion of this country with Germany, condemned and reviled by men who were conſidered the moſt enlightened and truly patriotic. He had ſo little attachment for his German dominions, that no doubt was entertained of his being induced to abandon the defence of them, and employ the money which had hitherto been uſeleſsly laviſhed on that object, in diſtreſſing the French in other quarters, for the purpoſe of compelling them to make peace. A propoſal ſo flattering to the prejudices of Engliſhmen, it was ſuppoſed would confer extenſive and permanent popularity on thoſe who ſhould have the virtue to recommend, and the intereſt to enforce it; and ſome jealouſy was entertained, leſt the miniſtry, who had hitherto conducted the war, ſhould inſure their continuance of power and popularity after a peace, by firſt adopting the plan [d]. The King's patriotic diſintereſtedneſs.

[c] Conſiderations on the preſent German war, by I. Mauduit, Eſq. This production was generally read, and the author afterward received a penſion. Hiſtory of the late Minority. p. 13.

[d] Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 422; and the ſame ſentiments are more fully expreſſed and enforced in a paper of Lord Melcombe's dated 16th January, 1761, and indorſed, "Paper read to Lord Bute."

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1761. Mr. Pitt zealous in profecuting the war.

Mr. PITT, however, was not diſpoſed to become a candidate for increaſed popularity (if an increaſe of his popularity was poſſible) on ſuch terms. He had concerted the war on a ſyſtem ſuggeſted by the King of Pruſſia, improved by himſelf, and fully ſanctioned by George II., who was ſuppoſed to be a competent judge of military matters. The ſucceſs of the allied arms had hitherto ſilenced oppoſition, and excited univerſal admiration; and France was ſo infeebled and humbled, that her further efforts were not conſidered objects of dread. The people, amuſed by the ſplendid exhibitions attendant on victory, and flattered by the merited encomiums beſtowed on the valour and liberality of the country, diſregarded the load of debt created by the war, and deſpiſed the accumulation of taxes. The capital, which by its exertions and clamours generally gives a political bias to the reſt of the kingdom, was implicitly devoted to the miniſter, and he was ſo far from entertaining a notion of abandoning the continent that the friends of that project pronounced him more mad than ever[e].

Tumultuous diſpoſition of the populace.

FROM the King's acceſſion, the Earl of Bute became an object of jealouſy, and his conduct was vigilantly ſcrutiniſed[f]. As he was expected ſoon to obtain a place in the miniſtry, many efforts were made to inflame the national prejudice againſt the Scots, and the people were taught to believe that

[e] Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 427.

[f] A ſubject of ſucceſsful inveterate and permanent miſrepreſentation aroſe in the gift of the rangerſhip of Richmond Park to Lord Bute. This office was held by the Princeſs Amelia; and it was boldly aſſerted, that the gratification of the favourite, and the mortification of the Princeſs, were equal motives for the change: but, in fact, the Princeſs held the appointment *for her life*, and therefore could not be deprived of it but by her own conſent. The Princeſs at firſt propoſed to make Richmond her principal reſidence, and the great ſtone lodge was directed to be prepared and enlarged for that purpoſe; but during the progreſs of the work, a deciſion at law was made contrary to her wiſhes, relative to right of ſtopping the foot-way; ſhe then became diſguſted, ſuſpended the execution of her orders, and, on receiving an ample equivalent, cheerfully reſigned an appointment which, no longer gratified her imagination, except as an object of emolument.

every

every unpopular act was the result of his advice. The King had not completed the fourth month of his reign when the ungovernable and licentious spirit of the mob was displayed in a riot while he was at the play-house; the tax on beer was imputed to Lord Bute, and this was their mode of expressing disapprobation [g].

1761. 2d Feb.

Lord Bute secretary of state. 25th Mar.

NOTWITHSTANDING these efforts, the King, on the resignation of Lord Holderneſſe, appointed Lord Bute secretary of state [h]; he also dismissed Mr. Legge from the chancellorship of the Exchequer, and gave his office to Lord Barrington. Several other removals and advancements of less importance were also made, and the Duke of Richmond, disgusted with a military promotion which he considered injurious to his brother, Lord George Lenox, resigned the post of lord of the bed-chamber [i].

Changes in the ministry.

WHEN Lord Bute thus assumed a responsible situation in the cabinet, he was deluded by interested individuals into a belief, that he possessed a considerable portion of the public esteem, and that the popularity of Mr. Pitt was declining. They strongly represented to him that he was bound

[g] The inhabitants of Hexham (9th March) evinced a more formidable disposition to tumult; on the balloting for militia-men, they assembled in such numbers, and committed such excesses, that it became necessary to employ the military; and a special commission having been afterwards issued, several of the rioters were tried, and one executed.

[h] Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 416. The retreat of Lord Holderneſſe appears to have been a preconcerted manœuvre, arranged with more art and duplicity than becomes an exalted character, to make room for Lord Bute. Lord Holderneſſe was amply gratified by a pension and reversionary grant of the wardenship of the Cinque Ports.

[i] It is asserted in Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 417, that the Duke of Richmond, after speaking disrespectfully of Lord Bute and the Scotch nation, had solicited the bed-chamber. The Duke has denied these facts in a letter printed in the same work (p. 500). The transaction, in whatever light it is viewed, reflects no disgrace either on the Duke or Lord Bute. If we refuse Lord Bute credit for magnanimity in favouring the Duke's wishes, after he had spoken disrespectfully of him and his country, it appears at least that he did not oppose them, although His Grace had declared his unwillingness to connect himself with any ministry. The Duke's resignation, in compliment to the feelings of his brother, was spirited and proper.

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by every motive, public and private, to take an active part in the government[k], and he yielded to ſuggeſtions which accorded with his views of weakening the party, which, in his judgment, maintained a dangerous aſcendancy.

THE prorogation and diſſolution of Parliament were delayed, to afford time for Lord Bute to make the arrangements neceſſary to ſtrengthen his intereſt: but the influence he expected to derive from the King's confidence, was engroſſed by others, who had taken their meaſures unknown even to the King himſelf. He was early appriſed of this, and cautioned againſt it, yet he took no meaſures to counteract thoſe miniſters who were reſolved to ſecure parliamentary adherents by means of government intereſt, but entirely independent of the crown[l].

[k] Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 416; and his letters to Lord Bute, *paſſim*.

[l] Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 432.—In a letter to Lord Bute, dated the 26th November, 1760, Lord Melcombe, after expreſſing his zeal for the King's ſervice, and anxiety to ſee him entirely independent, ſays, "It is not my wiſh "that His Majeſty ſhould interpoſe, directly or indirectly, where the intereſt "is in any private gentlemen, as ſuch: but during the two laſt reigns, a ſet of un- "dertakers have farmed the power of the crown at a price certain; and under "colour of making themſelves reſponſible for the whole, have taken the ſole di- "rection of the royal intereſt and influence into their own hands, and applied it "to their own creatures, without conſulting the crown, or leaving any room for the "royal nomination or direction. This ſhould be prevented before any pretence "of promiſe can be made," &c.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

1761.

State of the belligerent powers.—France.—Poland.—Ruſſia.—Auſtria.—Congreſs propoſed.—Progreſs of the campaign.—Capture of Schweidnitz by the Auſtrians.—Battle of Filingſhauſen.—Capture of Belleiſle—and of Dominica.—Reduction of the Cherokees.—War in India.—Capture of Mihie.—Invaſion of Bengal by the Shah Zaddah.—His defeat.—Exploits of d'Eſtaing.—Tranquillity of Great Britain.—The King's marriage.—Coronation.—Negotiations for peace with France.—Terms propoſed by the French.—They introduce the diſcuſſion of Spaniſh affairs.—Spirited conduct of Mr. Pitt.—Anſwer to the French propoſitions.—Family compact ſigned.—Mr. Pitt's inſtructions to Lord Briſtol, embaſſador at Madrid.—Lord Briſtol's explanations with the Spaniſh ſecretary of ſtate.—Mr. Pitt propoſes to declare war againſt Spain. He and Lord Temple determine to reſign.—Obſervations.—Mr. Pitt's reſignation.—Gracious behaviour of the King.—Mr. Pitt receives a penſion.—Lord Bute conſidered at the head of the adminiſtration.—His ſentiments on Mr. Pitt's reſignation.—Meeting of Parliament.—The Queen's dowry ſettled.—Receſs.

CHAP. II. 1761. State of France.

IF peace was deſirable to the Engliſh nation, it was ſtill more neceſſary to the other belligerent powers, except the Empreſs Queen. France, in particular, felt the miſeries of unſucceſsful warfare, and was fallen from its alarming power and greatneſs, into the loweſt ſtate of diſtreſs and impotence. Its military operations had been unfortunate in every quarter of the globe; and the merchants and planters had, for more than two years, ceaſed to derive any advantage from the few colonial poſſeſſions which yet remained. It was without trade, and without credit; ſtopping payments, returning bills

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bills proteſted, and in every reſpect a bankrupt nation [a]. To ſuch a degree of diſtreſs were the people reduced, that the King, the princes of the blood, the nobility and clergy, were under the neceſſity of ſending their plate to the mint, to furniſh ſpecie for immediate uſe. The alliance with Maria Thereſa had ceaſed to be popular; and the nation, feeling the preſſure of the war, loudly complained of a ſyſtem which involved them in miſery, merely to benefit the houſe of Auſtria, their ancient, hereditary enemy.

EARLY in this year, Louis XV. declared to his allies that France, having for four years, in conjunction with other powers, proſecuted the war in hopes of ruining the King of Pruſſia, but without ſucceſs, was unable to ſuſtain, for a longer period, the enormous expences of the conteſt. He repreſented, that a continuance of the war would complete the devaſtation of Germany; and adviſed the other powers to renounce their views of aggrandizement, and concur in the re-eſtabliſhment of peace.

Sweden. THE ſame declaration was made, in terms ſtill ſtronger, at Stockholm, where the French faction in the ſenate had been vigorouſly attacked by the court party.

Poland. THE King of Poland, tired of a deſtructive war, liſtened with ſatisfaction to terms of peace, and hoped by negociation to obtain ſome indemnity for his loſſes.

Ruſſia. ELIZABETH, Empreſs of Ruſſia, whom pride and the arguments of her counſellors alone induced to continue hoſtilities, was not averſe to a pacification, as it would leave her to the enjoyment of that repoſe, which now conſtituted her greateſt pleaſure.

[a] Letter to Two Great Men.

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THE Empreſs Queen alone appeared deſirous of prolonging hoſtilities, by which ſhe expected to deſtroy her greateſt enemy; yet, in compliance with the wiſhes of France, ſhe propoſed a general congreſs, to be holden at Augſbourg.

1761. Auſtria. Congreſs propoſed; 25th Mar.

M. DE. CHOISEUL conveyed the propoſition to the Britiſh court, through the medium of Prince Gallitzin, the Ruſſian miniſter. The Engliſh monarch and the King of Pruſſia acceded without heſitation. France, at the ſame time, propoſed to Great Britain, that miniſters ſhould be ſent to their reſpective courts, for the purpoſe of negotiating a ſeparate peace, to which, as the King of Pruſſia could offer no objection, the Britiſh miniſtry agreed.

As it was the intereſt of France to obtain time for recruiting her armies, and refitting her fleets, this propoſal was accompanied with another for an immediate ceſſation of arms; but England having already incurred the expence of a new campaign, and made immenſe maritime preparations, was not duped by this inſidious offer.

FRANCE entertained great hopes of deriving advantage from the negotiations at Augſbourg; but the meeting was prevented by a punctilious objection: the Emperor, it was ſaid, could not ſend an embaſſador, becauſe war was declared againſt the Empreſs Queen, and not againſt the head of the empire [b].

DURING the winter, a few trifling ſkirmiſhes only took place between the King of Pruſſia and the allies, but offenſive operations were now ſeriouſly reſumed. Frederick II. maintained, with ſpirit, vigour, and ſkill, an unequal conteſt againſt the overwhelming armies of the two empires. He

[b] Œuvres complettes de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, vol. iii. chap. 13. — Hiſtorical Memorial of the Negotiation, publiſhed in Paris by authority.

was

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was obliged to conſider ſafety fortunate, and to maintain his political ſituation by addreſs in temporizing, rather than riſk every thing by a deſperate effort in battle. His diſtreſs was increaſed by the unexpected capture of Schweidnitz, a ſtrong city in Sileſia, from which he had hitherto drawn conſiderable ſupplies. His affairs were generally unproſperous in Sileſia, Pomerania, and Saxony, and he kept the field with difficulty and diſadvantage, till his troops went into winter quarters.

9th Sept. Capture of Schweidnitz.

10th Dec.

Battle of Fillingſhauſen.

PRINCE FERDINAND, on the other hand, made a brilliant and ſucceſsful campaign: at an early period he fortunately cut off ſome ſupplies, and availing himſelf of the inaction occaſioned by this event, ſtrengthened his own poſition at Kirch Denckern. He was, however, attacked by the French: the conflict was ſevere, and continued two days: the enemy for a time ſeemed victorious; they compelled part of the Britiſh troops under Lord Granby to retire, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the village of Fillingſhauſen; but at length, by a maſterly manœuvre, Prince Ferdinand and the Britiſh general turned the fortune of the day, and ſecured a moſt important victory [c]. The career of ſucceſs was interrupted till the end of the campaign, which covered both generals with glory [d].

15th and 16th July.

Capture of Belleiſle.

NOR were the Britiſh arms leſs ſucceſsful in other quarters. Among the moſt promiſing enterprizes of the year, was a ſecret expedition to attack Belleiſle, near the coaſt of Brittany. A fleet of ten ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire ſhips, and

[c] This battle, if we may believe Dumouriez, was loſt through the precipitation of Broglio, who, in order to gain the victory by his own army alone, made the attack a day too ſoon, and through the criminal jealouſy of Soubiſe, who ſacrificed the glory and intereſt of France to the pleaſure of mortifying his rival. Life of Dumouriez, vol. i. p. 36.

[d] Œuvres du Roi de Pruſſe, vol. iii. chap. 14.

bombs,

bombs, and one hundred tranſports, conveying nine thouſand men, with a train of artillery, ſailed from Spithead in three diviſions, under the command of Commodore Keppel. The troops, led by Major-General Hodgſon, were repulſed with loſs in an attempt to land on the ſouth-eaſt of the iſland, in a ſandy bay near Lomeria Point; but after ſome days they were more ſucceſsful in another effort near the ſame point, in a place where the enemy, truſting to the natural impediments, had been leſs ſolicitous to form an artificial defence. Having ſurmounted conſiderable difficulties, they laid ſiege to Palais, the capital of the iſland, and compelled the governor to capitulate, after a reſiſtance of two months, in which he loſt two thouſand men. CHAP. II. 1761. 29th Mar. 8th April. 7th June.

THE news of this conqueſt occaſioned general exultation. A loyal addreſs was unanimouſly voted by the city of London: and great expectations were formed, that the capture of Belleiſle would enable miniſters to obtain the moſt favourable terms of peace, but the demolition of the works ſeems to have been the principal object of the enterprize, and that was effectually accompliſhed. The French, afterwards, made an attempt to burn the Britiſh fleet in Baſque Road, near Aix: the project was well conceived, but failed through the precipitation and unſkilfulneſs of thoſe to whom it was intruſted. 17th June. Addreſs of the city of London. 17th Dec.

IN the Weſt Indies, Dominica was taken by Lord Rollo; and the Cherokee Indians having taken up arms at the inſtigation of the French, Sir James Douglas and Colonel Grant, at the head of two thouſand ſix hundred men, ravaged their country and compelled them to ſue for peace [e]. Capture of Dominica, 6th June. Reduction of the Cherokees.

IN the Eaſt Indies, the Britiſh power, which had been ſtrengthened on the coaſt of Coromandel by the poſſeſſion of Pondicherry [f], was ſtill further ſe- India.

[e] Beatſon's Naval and Military Memoirs, vol. iii.
[f] See Smollett's Continuation of Hume, vol. v. p. 363.

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cured on the coaſt of Malabar by the capture of Mihie, which was taken by Major Hector Monro. An adventurer, named Law, nephew of the famous projector, having aſſembled a corps of French fugitives, perſuaded the Mogul, who in the preceding year had been known by the title of the Shah Zaddah, to invade the kingdom of Bengal. The united force conſiſted of eighty thouſand natives, and about two hundred French, but Major Carnac with twenty thouſand blacks, and five hundred Engliſh ſoldiers, totally routed this vaſt army, and captured the Mogul and his European coadjutor[g].

1761. Invaſion of Bengal by the Shah Zaddah;

who is defeated.

D'Estaing, who, in violation of his parol, infeſted the Indian ſeas with two frigates, ſailing to Sumatra, reduced Bencouli, Tappanapoli, and Marlborough fort.

Exploits of d'Eſtaing.

While war was thus vigorouſly, and with various ſucceſs, carried on in all quarters of the globe, the people of England enjoyed not only an abſolute tranquillity, but partook of the pleaſures incident to a new reign, and ſhared the feſtivals to which the ſeaſons gave birth.

Tranquillity of Great Britain.

The King, having ſummoned a council extraordinary, declared his determination to marry the Princeſs Charlotte of Mecklenberg Strelitz, a communication which was received with ſome ſurprize, as the King's intention was a profound ſecret[h]. His conduct was highly prudent, for it prevented diſcuſſions which, beſides their extreme indelicacy, might, on this occaſion, have been peculiarly unpleaſant. The late King was, at one period, ſuppoſed to entertain an intention of marrying him to a Princeſs of Brunſwick, niece to the King of Pruſſia; but the match was diſagreeable to the Princeſs of Wales[i]; and thoſe compariſons which the

8th July. The King declares his intention to marry.

[g] See chapter v. [h] Lord Orford's works, vol. v. p. 75.
[i] Lord Melcombe's Diary, 374.

public intereſt in the event could not fail to produce, had the King's intention been early announced, muſt have given great uneaſineſs at court.

THE proper arrangements being made, Lord Anſon, firſt Lord of the Admiralty, conducted the Princeſs to England, where, after a dangerous and difficult paſſage, ſhe arrived in ſafety. The ceremony of marriage was performed the ſame day, and ſoon afterward the coronation [k].

His marriage, 7th Aug. 8th Sept. 22d, and coronation.

ONE of the moſt intereſting and important tranſactions of this year, was the negotiation for peace between Great Britain and France. In conſequence of the deſire expreſſed by the court of Verſailles, M. de Buſſy was received in London, and Hans Stanley at Paris, as miniſters. After ſome delay, the principles were fully arranged. Theſe were,—That the conqueſts made on each ſide ſhould be conſidered as the property of the conquerors, and either retained or exchanged according to their value: certain periods were alſo fixed, though not without great diſcuſſions, at which the effect of this ſtipulation was to begin: And it was agreed, that all arrangements between the two crowns ſhould be concluſive, independent of the fate of the congreſs then expected to take place at Augſbourg.

Negotiations for peace.

24th and 31ſt Mar.

THESE propoſals were made by the French miniſters; but there is no room to believe that they were even yet ſincere in the wiſh for peace. They entertained great hopes of inducing Spain to engage in the quarrel, and therefore oſtentatiouſly ſubmitted to make humiliating attempts at conciliation, judging this to be the moſt certain mode of alarming the court of Madrid, and inducing the Spaniſh miniſter to prevent the concluſion of peace with Great Britain, by an early avowal of hoſtility.

[k] For a ſpirited account of theſe events, ſee Lord Orford's works, vol. v. p. 80 and 83.

Spain

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Spain had declared that France was ſufficiently humbled, but muſt not be ruined [l]; and therefore every appearance of immoderate conceſſion could not fail of exciting great emotion.

THE Britiſh miniſtry did not entertain ſanguine hopes of a ſucceſsful iſſue of the negotiation, as after it had commenced, the expedition againſt Belleiſle was undertaken.

CHOISEUL conducted the buſineſs with great art and addreſs: he contrived to impreſs on Mr. Stanley's mind, the neceſſity of keeping the extent of the propoſed compenſations an entire ſecret, not only from the miniſters of the allies of England, but even from M. de Buſſy himſelf [m]; and, after much debate, agreed that France ſhould make a ſpecific propoſal of compenſations.

THE articles delivered by the French miniſter were:

1. THE ceſſion and guaranty of Canada to England, under four conditions; viz. The allowance of the free exerciſe of the Catholic religion by the coloniſts: permiſſion for French ſubjects to quit the colony: the correct ſettlement of the limits: and permiſſion for the French to take and dry fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland; for the benefit of this fiſhery, Cape Breton was to be reſtored to France, but no fortifications to be erected.

2. FRANCE was to reſtore Minorca and Fort St. Philip; and

3. ENGLAND to return Guadaloupe and Marigalante.

4. DOMINICA and St. Vincent's to be in the poſſeſſion of the Caribbs, under the protection of the French; St. Lucie to be reſtored to them, and Tobago, under certain conditions, to remain the property of England.

[l] Lord Oxford's works, vol. v. p. 75.
[m] Private letter from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt, 28th Auguſt 1761.

5. As-

5. ASSUMING as a principle that it would be advantageous for the two countries to abſtain from all military views of conqueſt in India, it was propoſed that the treaty between Godeheu and Saunders, in 1755, ſhould ſerve as a baſis for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace in Aſia.

6. ENGLAND to retain either Senegal or Goree, but to give up one of them to France; and to reſtore Belleiſle, with the artillery which was there at the time of the conqueſt.

7. IN conſideration of theſe ceſſions, France ſtipulated to evacuate Heſſe, Hanau, and ſo much of the electorate of Hanover as was occupied by her troops.

8. THAT the ſeparate peace might not be prejudicial to any treaties, or diſadvantageous to the Empreſs Queen, the King of England was to undertake that no part of Prince Ferdinand's army ſhould join the King of Pruſſia; and, on the other hand, Broglio and Soubiſe were to retire, the former occupying Frankfort, the latter Weſel and Gueldres.

THE countries on the lower Rhine, belonging to Pruſſia, being conquered, and actually governed in the name of the Empreſs Queen, the French King could not undertake to evacuate them till the cloſe of the negotiations at Augſbourg; but agreed to remove double the number of troops withdrawn by England.

9. NAVAL captures made before the war, to be reſtored: this was not, however, inſiſted on as an eſſential ſtipulation, but to be referred to the juſtice of the King, and the Engliſh tribunals.

THE other articles were not of much importance.

THESE propoſals, although in ſome reſpects liberal, could not form the baſis of an honourable treaty, as many claims of France were exorbitant, and preſumptuous. In India, particularly, it was propoſed that Great Britain ſhould reſign valuable and

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extenſive conqueſts, without an equivalent, and merely in compliance with a principle of policy, not of law or juſtice, dictated by an enemy. The requiſition for the reſtitution of prizes, although recommended by ſome ſhew of moderation, was, in fact, equally arrogant, as it affected to make a diſtinction between the French nation and individuals compoſing it, and concluded with a clamorous appeal to the law of nations, and an aſſertion that the arguments advanced on the part of France were unanſwerable. The articles reſpecting the conqueſts made from the King of Pruſſia were no leſs inſidious and preſumptuous; if the congreſs of Augſbourg failed of producing an immediate pacification, that monarch muſt, in all probability, have been cruſhed by the powerful combination of his enemies, an event which France knew Great Britain would not permit.

Affairs of Spain introduced by France.

It is very doubtful if the propoſals could have been ſo modified as to produce a good ſyſtem of pacification: but perhaps the French miniſter had previouſly ſecured the co-operation of Spain, and even planned the treaty which was afterwards carried into effect, and the operations which reſulted from the alliance. This conjecture is rendered more probable by the delivery of another memorial on the affairs of Spain, in which the French King, more than equivocally, intimated the hoſtile diſpoſition of the court of Madrid*, and required, as the means of ſecuring a ſolid peace—

1. The reſtoration of ſome captures made during the war.

2. The privilege for the Spaniſh nation to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland; and

* He ſays, "The King will not diſguiſe from His Majeſty (of Great Britain) that the differences of Spain with England fill him with juſt apprehenſions, and give him room to fear that, if they are not adjuſted, they will occaſion a freſh war in Europe and America."

3. The

3. THE demolition of the Engliſh ſettlements in Honduras.

SUCH proceedings ſufficiently evinced that France was not deſirous of peace: but to aggravate the impropriety of the previous demands, a third memorial was delivered, ſtating the conſent of the Empreſs Queen to a ſeparate pacification between France and England, provided ſhe might retain poſſeſſion of the countries conquered from Pruſſia, and none of the auxiliaries in alliance with Hanover ſhould join with Frederick.

Mr. PITT reſolutely declared, both in converſation and writing, that the King would not ſuffer the differences with Spain to be blended in the diſputes then under diſcuſſion; a further mention of them, he ſaid, would be conſidered an affront to His Majeſty's dignity, and incompatible with the ſincerity of the negotiation, and he returned the memorials relating to Spain and Pruſſia, as totally inadmiſſible. 24th July. Spirited conduct of Mr. Pitt.

HE afterwards anſwered the French propoſitions, and inſiſted on terms more conſiſtent, perhaps, with the ſituation in which this country ſtood from the advantages of conqueſt, than with the pacific ſentiments which were ſuppoſed to give riſe to the treaty. If France had acceded to them, ſhe ſurrendered all ſources of wealth and political importance in America, Africa, and Aſia. The demolition of Dunkirk was peremptorily demanded, as the price of liberty to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland; and that permiſſion was rendered leſs valuable by a refuſal to cede Cape Breton. Belleiſle was offered as an equivalent for Minorca. Guadaloupe and Marigalante were to be reſtored; but as the miniſter refuſed to part with Senegal or Goree, the difficulty of obtaining negroes would have rendered the French Weſt India iſlands of little value. Canada was to be retained, but the limits were not accurately defined. The queſtion 29th July. Anſwer to the French propoſitions.

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concerning conqueſts in India, was left to the diſcuſſion of the Engliſh and French Eaſt India Companies. The reſtitution of prizes was refuſed; and the King would continue, as an auxiliary, to aſſiſt the King of Pruſſia in the recovery of Sileſia.

Obſervations.

It might be eaſily proved that theſe terms were no leſs injudicious than immoderate. The equitable end of war is not the political annihilation of an enemy, but the termination of diſputes, and the ſecuring of an honourable and permanent peace. Neither of theſe objects could have been attained by this pacification; and France, however reduced in finance could not be expected to receive ſuch diſgraceful conditions, while ſhe had yet the means of prolonging a conteſt, which might produce a change in her favour, but could hardly reduce her to a more deplorable ſtate of neceſſity.

The miniſter, therefore, did not act with his uſual wiſdom in giving his opponent the advantage of complaining that his haughtineſs rendered the treaty impracticable; and he furniſhed Spain with ſome pretence for the conduct ſhe reſolved to adopt. The miniſter from that country avowed the offenſive memorial delivered by M. de Buſſy, and Spaniſh gold began to be coined on the frontier towns for the benefit of France [o].

Negotiation continued. 5th Aug.

Yet as matters were not ripe for an open rupture, the farce of negotiation was continued: an ultimatum was delivered from the court of France, replying to the propoſitions of England; and memorials were ſent reſpecting the prizes; which, with the dubious conduct of Spain, neceſſarily occaſioned ſome delays. M. de Choiſeul amuſed Mr. Stanley with equivocal declarations, and even induced him to believe that the introduction of Spaniſh affairs was not a voluntary act, but extorted by the exigences of his ſituation [p].

[o] Lord Orford's works, vol. v. p. 82.

[p] Letter from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt, 20th Auguſt 1761.

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AT length the famous treaty, called the Family Compact, was ſecretly ſigned, and although it was not ratified, and the conditions unknown, yet Mr. Stanley received obſcure intelligence on the ſubject, which he communicated to Mr. Pitt. The French ultimatum was peremptorily rejected; the negotiation abruptly terminated, and M. de Buſſy and Mr. Stanley returned to their reſpective courts [q].

15th Aug. Family Compact ſigned. 1ſt Sept. 25th Sept.

INDIGNANT at the interference of France in the diſputes between Great Britain and Spain, Mr. Pitt immediately diſpatched to the Earl of Briſtol, embaſſador at Madrid, a letter, complaining, in unqualified terms, of the conduct of both thoſe powers. "The memorial delivered by Buſſy," he ſaid, "will beſt ſpeak its own enormity, and the extreme "offenſiveneſs of the matter it contains." In apprizing Don Ricardo Wall, the Spaniſh ſecretary of ſtate, of this paper, Lord Briſtol was directed to remonſtrate, with energy and firmneſs, on its irregularity, and to ſtate, that the King would by no means add facilities for the ſatisfaction of Spain, in conſequence of any intimation from a hoſtile power of union of councils, or of preſent or future conjunctions. At the ſame time as the court of France might poſſibly have exaggerated, if Lord Briſtol perceived a diſpoſition in M. Wall to explain away and diſavow this offenſive tranſaction, he was inſtructed to open to the court of Madrid a handſome retreat.

Mr. Pitt's inſtructions to Lord Briſtol. 28th July.

WHEN Lord Briſtol waited on the Spaniſh miniſter for the purpoſe of enforcing theſe topics, he found M. Wall already appriſed on the ſubject by the French embaſſador. To the remonſtrance, which was made with firmneſs and ſpirit, M. Wall anſwered, that France had voluntarily propoſed to attempt the ac-

Lord Briſtol's explanation with General Wall.

[q] For the hiſtory of this negotiation have been conſulted, the papers relative to a rupture with Spain, laid before the Houſe of Commons; the hiſtorical memorial publiſhed by the court of France; together with many pamphlets, and periodical publications.

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commodation of differences, and ſpontaneouſly tendered in the event of a rupture, the aid of her forces, to prevent the Engliſh encroachments on His Catholic Majeſty's territories in America: an offer which the Spaniſh monarch had received with all the cordiality due to a friend who was determined even to involve himſelf in a freſh war in his defence. Spain, however, had no intention to provoke Great Britain, eſpecially at a time when the court of London was in a moſt flouriſhing and exalted ſituation, occaſioned by a ſeries of unparalleled proſperities. M. Wall made many general profeſſions of pacific and amicable intentions, placed the interference of France in a point of view entirely inoffenſive, and expreſſed ſurprize that Great Britain ſhould take umbrage at the naval armaments carrying on in the ports of Spain: the whole number, including ſhips of the line and frigates, did not, he ſaid, exceed twenty: which were employed in ſailing between Spain and Naples; in convoying flotas and regiſter ſhips; and maintaining a check on the corſairs of Barbary.

THE diſpatch from Lord Briſtol containing this account, which forms the ſubſtance of five conferences, was accompanied with a paper delivered to him by General Wall, in which, after renewing his complaints, avowing the alliance with France, and extolling the moderation and candour of the court of Madrid, the following expreſſions are uſed: "The King of Spain will ſay, as the King of Eng-"land does, that he will do nothing on account of "the intimation of a hoſtile power, who threatens "an union of councils, and gives to underſtand a "future war; for the Catholic King approves of, "and eſteems in other monarchs, thoſe ſentiments "of honour he feels himſelf, and if he had thought "that the delivery of the memorial had been con-"ſtrued as a threat, he would never have conſented "to it. Why has not England made the trial of "concluding a peace with France, without the

"guaranty

" guaranty or intervention of Spain? and adjuſted " her differences with Spain, without the know- " ledge of France? Then ſhe would have experi- " enced that their union was not an obſtruction, " but only tended to tranquillity. With reſpect " to Spain, it is now repeated, that as the King of " Great Britain, notwithſtanding the memorial, " was inclined to ſatisfy the Catholic King, and " ready to terminate, in a friendly manner, what- " ever might occaſion a coolneſs between the two " kingdoms, His Catholic Majeſty eſteems and " correſponds with ſuch good purpoſes."[r]

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THIS letter from Lord Briſtol was dated the 31ſt of Auguſt, and received the 11th of September. It contained nothing which could juſtify any hoſtile intention againſt Spain, but afforded ample room to hope for an adjuſtment of differences, on advantageous terms. The Spaniſh miniſter did not attempt to diſguiſe the terror of his court at the vigour and energy of the Britiſh arms, and ſeemed ready to forego every claim which, conſiſtently with the dignity of an independent nation, could be ſurrendered, to avoid a rupture with ſo formidable an adverſary.

To the ſurpriſe, then, of all who were unacquainted with his motives, Mr. Pitt, in a week after the receipt of this letter, propoſed in the cabinet to order Lord Briſtol to withdraw from Madrid; and preſented a bold and extenſive plan of operations againſt the trade, colonies, and wealth of Spain. This propoſition was delivered in writing, and ſigned by Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, as advice to the King. It was debated with great warmth at three ſeveral councils, called for the expreſs purpoſe; but the cabinet remaining unconvinced by the arguments adduced in favour of the plan, Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple declared their reſolution to

18th Sept. Mr. Pitt propoſes war with Spain.

Lord Temple and Mr Pitt determine to reſign.

[r] Papers relative to the rupture with Spain.

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reſign. Mr. Pitt ſaid, "he was called to the miniſtry by the voice of the people, to whom he "conſidered himſelf as accountable for his conduct: "and he would not remain in a ſituation which "made him reſponſible for meaſures *he was no* "*longer allowed to guide.*" To this intemperate and unwarrantable declaration, Lord Granville, preſident of the council, replied, "I can hardly regret "the right honourable gentleman's determination "to leave us, as he would otherwiſe have com- "pelled us to leave him; but if he be reſolved to "aſſume the right of adviſing His Majeſty, and di- "recting the operations of the war, to what pur- "poſe are we called to this council? When he "talks of being reſponſible to the people, he talks "the language of the Houſe of Commons, and "forgets, that at this board he is only reſponſible "to the King. However, though he may poſſibly "have convinced himſelf of his infallibility, ſtill "it remains that we ſhould be equally convinced, "before we can reſign our underſtandings to his "direction, or join with him in the meaſure he "propoſes."

Obſervations.

Mr. PITT's reſolution to reſign has been cenſured, and defended, with a warmth proportioned to the magnitude of the object: for certainly the character of a great man, acquired by long and arduous exertion, cannot be conſidered as deficient in importance or intereſt; and the attempt to eſtabliſh the extraordinary principle, that a miniſter is entitled to abandon the cabinet, becauſe he is not allowed to guide it, requires more than common ſupport both from fact and argument. Mr. Pitt himſelf declared, "that his opinion was "founded on what Spain had already done, not "on what that court might further intend to do[t];"

[s] Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 32.

[t] Letter from Mr. Pitt to ———, in the city. See Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 37. Annual Regiſter for 1761, p. 300. Gentleman's Magazine, 1761, p. 465.

this

this declaration must obviously allude to some intimation he had received of the execution of the Family Compact; and Lord Temple afterward avowed this to be the point on which their vindication rested [u]. In fact, the Family Compact was signed and ratified before Mr. Pitt proposed the attack on Spain; and it is affirmed that the Lord Mareschal Keith, who not long before had been in Spain, and who, at the intercession of the King of Prussia, was restored to his property in Scotland, in gratitude, communicated to Mr. Pitt this remarkable treaty; but this fact was not disclosed to the cabinet.

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Mr. STANLEY sent to Mr. Pitt, from Paris, a letter containing information that some treaty had been entered into between France and Spain, and, from memory, detailed what he understood to be the tenth article; but this information was so vague and indefinite, that no minister could, by the production of it, have justified a declaration of war [x]. Mr. Stanley, perhaps, thought this the tenth article of the Family Compact, but, in fact, it contains no such article. This letter was laid before the cabinet, and copies permitted to be taken by the ministers and their friends; they deliberated on it, and rejected the proposal it was intended to justify. Had this letter been avowed as the only intelligence, which could warrant the

[u] History of the late Minority, p. 83.

[x] Mr. Stanley's letter is in these words: "I have secretly seen an article "drawn up between France and Spain; in which the former engages to "support the interest of the latter, equally with her own, in the negotiation "of peace with England. It was intitled, Article 10th.—I am as yet a "stranger to the other nine, but shall endeavour to get them.—This was "on a separate piece of paper.—I read it twice over; but it was not left "me long enough to copy.—I conceive it to be very recent; for it was "communicated in a letter, dated August 10th, to M. de Bussy. He was "directed not immediately to sign the peace if it could be agreed with "England; perhaps in order to get off from Spain more decently. I "question whether this article has been signed, or totally concluded; but "he was not allowed to proceed contrary to it. Spain has been pushing "her negotiation ever since I came here, and had about this time gained "great ground."

commence-

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commencement of hoſtilities, all Europe would have been alarmed; the violence of the meaſure would have deſtroyed every principle of national ſecurity; and the faith of Great Britain would have received an indelible ſtain.

NOR were the advantages to be derived from ſuch an effort ſo great as have been ſuppoſed. The whole marine force of Spain was inadequate to oppoſe the victorious and well-appointed navy of England. The colonies were open to attack, and the ſmall portion of delay requiſite to obviate the charge of precipitation and injuſtice could make no effectual alteration in that reſpect. The flota, which it was part of the project to intercept, might, at the very period the propoſal was made, have been expected in port; but certainly there was every reaſon to believe, that before Lord Briſtol could receive orders of recal, and a force be diſpatched to effect the capture, the intended prize would have been ſecure from danger[z]; even if the enterprize had ſucceeded, the value of the acquiſition would have afforded but ſmall compenſation for the ſacrifice of national honour, by an act differing very little from piracy[a].

SPAIN had committed no avowed act which

[z] Mr. Pitt's reſignation in conſequence of his propoſal not being complied with, took place the 5th October. On the 2d November Lord Briſtol wrote a letter to his ſucceſſor, containing this paragraph: "Two ſhips have lately arrived at Cadiz, with very extraordinary rich cargoes, from the Weſt Indies; ſo that all the wealth that was expected from Spaniſh America, is now ſafe in Old Spain." From this it appears almoſt impoſſible, that, had the utmoſt celerity been uſed, either of theſe ſhips could have been intercepted. Indeed, their being yet to arrive could hardly be expected, ſince Lord Briſtol, in a diſpatch dated the 21ſt September, and received the 16th October, announced the arrival of the flota in the bay of Cadiz, and mentioned the King of Spain's diſappointment at the ſmall quantity of treaſure on board.

[a] The King of Pruſſia pays Mr. Pitt the compliment of having penetrated the intentions of Spain, like a real ſtateſman; but Mr. Pitt poſſeſſed no information which could juſtify him in declaring war, and the King of Pruſſia was totally unacquainted with the government, parties and politics of Great Britain. Œuvres du Roi de Pruſſe, vol. iv. p. 60.

could juſtify Great Britain in a declaration of war; nor was the intelligence which had been obtained of her private meaſures ſufficient to afford a pretence for hoſtility. If a conjecture may be hazarded, it ſeems not improbable that the communication made to Stanley was a refined piece of fineſſe in the French miniſtry, who being extremely anxious to effect the rupture, and perhaps expecting that the Britiſh miniſter would, immediately on receiving the intelligence they had permitted to tranſpire, take ſteps which he would be utterly unable to juſtify, hoped to make the cauſe of France and Spain the common intereſt of Europe. CHAP. II. 1761.

Mr. PITT, in purſuance of his reſolution, went to St. James's and reſigned the ſeals, which the King received with eaſe and firmneſs, without requeſting him to reſume his office. His Majeſty expreſſed concern at the loſs of ſo able a miniſter; and to ſhew the favourable ſenſe he entertained of his ſervices, made him a gracious and unlimited offer of any rewards in the power of the crown to beſtow; at the ſame time he avowed himſelf ſatisfied with the opinion of the majority of the council, and declared he ſhould have found himſelf under the greateſt difficulty had they concurred as fully in ſupporting as they had in rejecting the meaſure propoſed. Mr. Pitt was ſenſibly touched with the grandeur and condeſcenſion of this proceeding: "I confeſs, Sire," he ſaid, "I had but too "much reaſon to expect Your Majeſty's diſpleaſure. "I did not come prepared for this exceeding "goodneſs—pardon me, Sire, it overpowers—it "oppreſſes me." He burſt into tears[b]. At a ſubſequent period, paying a due tribute of gratitude to the generous demeanour of the King, he ſays, 5th Oct. Mr. Pitt's reſignation. The King's behaviour.

[b] Copied verbatim from the Annual Regiſter, 1761. p. 44. See alſo Gentleman's Magazine, 1761. p. 546.

"Moſt

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"Moſt gracious public marks of His Majeſty's approbation of my ſervices, followed my reſignation. They are unmerited, and unſolicited; and I ſhall ever be proud to have received them from the beſt of ſovereigns.[c]"

6th. Mr. Pitt receives a penſion.

THE next day arrangements were made for Mr. Pitt's retreat from office. A penſion of three thouſand pounds a year for three lives was ſettled on him, and a title conferred on his lady and her iſſue[d]. Lord Egremont was appointed his ſucceſſor; and, ſhortly afterward, the Duke of Bedford lord privy ſeal.

25th Nov.

Mr.

[c] Letter to ———, in the city.

[d] The following circumſtance would not deſerve notice, but it ſerves to ſhew how eaſy calumnious reports are received, and how carefully preſerved and repeated, till the ſources of hiſtory are entirely polluted. The account of theſe tranſactions was not publiſhed in the Gazette till the 10th of October, when it was accompanied with an article from Madrid, ſhewing the pacific diſpoſition of the court of Spain. An anonymous author relates the event in theſe words: "The Gazette itſelf was proſtituted to ſerve his (Lord Bute's) low and baſe artifices; *he purpoſely poſtponed the account of Mr. Pitt's reſignation for ſeveral days*, in order that one of the ſoothing declarations of the court of Spain might appear along with it, by way of giving the lie to Mr. Pitt's opinion of the Spaniſh intentions." (Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 35.) The ſame account, though not in terms quite ſo harſh, is repeated in the Life of Lord Chatham, vol. 1 p. 327. The fact ſtands thus: Mr. Pitt waited on the King to reſign on Monday, but the arrangements were not finally made till Tueſday, which being the day when the Gazette is regularly publiſhed, Mr. Pitt's reſignation and penſion could not have been announced earlier than Saturday the 10th, unleſs it had been conſidered important enough to iſſue an extraordinary Gazette on the occaſion. There was no neceſſity to delay the intelligence till a ſoothing declaration from the court of Spain ſhould arrive, for on the very day Mr. Pitt reſigned, a letter was received from Lord Briſtol, which was publiſhed among the papers relative to the rupture, and amply ſhewed that Spain, at that period, was not diſpoſed to aſſume an hoſtile poſition.

Letter from the Earl of Briſtol to Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated Segovia, Sept. 14th, 1761; received October 5th.

"SIR,

"General Wall has acquainted me that M. Manſo, governor at Santoreno, had in conſequence of the orders tranſmitted to him, been at Tariffa, where (after examining into the conduct of the inhabitants of that place, and reproving thoſe who connived at the proceedings which occaſioned ſuch repeated complaints from me concerning the illegal protection granted to the French row-boats, under the cannon of that port), he had taken

ſuch

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MR. PITT might, perhaps, feel ſome diſappointment, when he found that his example was not followed by ſeveral of his colleagues; but notwithſtanding the great weight he derived from his unbounded popularity, he had few perſonal adherents in the cabinet. The Duke of Newcaſtle, in particular, had always been jealous of his aſcendancy, and ſaw with envy the ſucceſs of thoſe meaſures, in which, though he held a diſtinguiſhed place in adminiſtration, he was conſidered merely as an inferior co-adjutor [e]. Their union had never been ſincere, and probably the Duke hoped, on Mr. Pitt's reſignation, to gratify his ambition by the reſumption of pre-eminence [f].

Lord Bute conſidered at the head of adminiſtration.

IN this expectation he was diſappointed; Lord Bute was conſidered the head of adminiſtration; and thoſe who expected to obtain favour by connecting themſelves with the favourite of their ſovereign, were extremely aſſiduous in their court to him, and profuſe in their expreſſions of attachment. Lord Melcombe was among the foremoſt to congratulate him on being delivered from a moſt impracticable colleague; His Majeſty from a moſt imperious ſervant; and the country from a moſt dangerous miniſter [g]; but Lord Bute did not exult in the event, and whatever motives of uneaſineſs he had in the late adminiſtration, he was far from thinking the diſ-

His ſentiments on Mr. Pitt's reſignation.

ſuch meaſures as would put an effectual ſtop to any further remonſtrances on that ſubject.

"The Spaniſh miniſter likewiſe informed me of his having heard that ſeveral additional works are going forward in order to ſtrengthen the fortifications at Gibraltar; which, he ſaid, will naturally confirm the report, too univerſally ſpread, of an approaching rupture between our courts. His Excellency aſked me, whether Great Britain could ſeriouſly entertain any apprehenſions of ſuch an event; and without giving me time to anſwer, added, that the Catholic King had at no time been more intent on cultivating a good correſpondence with His Majeſty than at preſent," &c. &c.

[e] See Lord Orford's Works, vol. i. p. 70.

[f] Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 74.

[g] Letter from Lord Melcombe to Lord Bute, 6th October, 1761.

ſolution

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solution of it, in the preſent minute, favourable to the King's affairs[h].

THE preſs teemed with publications on the unexpected change, and the ex-miniſter and Lord Bute were attacked by their reſpective opponents with virulent defamation, and rancorous abuſe. Mr. Pitt was reviled for accepting a penſion and honours, though theſe could leſs be conſidered an adequate reward for his ſervices, than a tribute of reſpect to his virtues and exertions; and Lord Bute was cenſured for having occaſioned a reſignation, which, in fact, filled him with uneaſineſs. Mr. Pitt's popularity ſuffered a momentary abatement, and might have been transferred to another, had a competitor appeared; but as there was none, it ſoon flowed back into its accuſtomed channel.

22d Oct. The common council of London preſented a vote

9th Nov. of thanks; and, on the Lord Mayor's day, when the King and Queen dined in the city, they were received by the people with indifference, and Lord Bute was aſſailed with all the inſolence of vulgar malignity, while Mr. Pitt was gratified with unbounded marks of applauſe.

3d Nov. Meeting of Parliament.

THE new Parliament met while the public mind was thus agitated; and the Houſe of Commons

6th. unanimouſly elected as their ſpeaker Sir John Cuſt, Baronet, whoſe integrity and abilities, rendered him highly worthy of that diſtinguiſhed office. The King, in his ſpeech from the throne, after mentioning his happy marriage, adverted to the failure of his efforts at pacification, and ſtated as matter of conſolation, that the continuance of war, and further effuſion of Chriſtian blood, could not, with juſtice, be imputed to him. He ſpoke in animated terms of the ſucceſſes which had diſtinguiſhed the year; and was perſuaded both houſes would agree with him

[h] See Lord Bute's anſwer to Lord Melcombe, 8th October. See Appendix, No. I. Article 4.

in

in opinion, that the ſteady exertion of our moſt vigorous efforts, in every part where the enemy might ſtill be attacked with advantage, could alone be productive of ſuch a peace, as might with reaſon be expected from our ſucceſſes. "It is, "therefore," he continued, "my fixed reſolution, "with your concurrence and ſupport, to carry on "the war in the moſt effectual manner for the ad- "vantage of my kingdoms, and to maintain, to "the utmoſt of my power, the good faith and ho- "nour of my crown, by adhering firmly to the "engagements entered into with my allies. In "this I will perſevere until my enemies, moved by "their own loſſes and diſtreſſes, and touched "with the miſeries of ſo many nations, ſhall yield "to the equitable conditions of an honourable "peace; in which caſe, as well as in the proſecu- "tion of the war, no conſideration whatever ſhall "make me depart from the true intereſt of my "kingdoms, and the honour and dignity of my "crown."

To the Houſe of Commons, beſide the other neceſſary ſupplies, His Majeſty recommended an adequate and honourable proviſion for the ſupport of the Queen, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive him; and in concluſion, added, "that there never was a ſituation, "in which unanimity, firmneſs, and diſpatch, were "more neceſſary for the ſafety, honour, and true "intereſt of Great Britain."

7th and 14th Nov. Addreſſes.

Both houſes voted loyal and affectionate addreſſes; one of congratulation was preſented to the Queen, and the Commons reſolved that in caſe of her ſurviving His Majeſty, ſhe ſhould enjoy a penſion of one hundred thouſand pounds per annum, together with the palace of Somerſet Houſe, and the lodge and lands at Richmond Park. An act framed to this effect paſſed unanimouſly. When it received the royal aſſent, the Queen was in the

19th. Queen's dowry ſettled.

2d Dec.

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the Houſe of Lords, and teſtified her ſatisfaction and gratitude by a graceful obeiſance to the King.

THE ſupplies for the current year amounted to eighteen millions; twelve millions of which were raiſed by annuities chargeable on the ſinking fund; and the moſt material buſineſs being diſpatched, both houſes adjourned for the Chriſtmas holidays.

Receſs.

CHAPTER THE THIRD:

1761—1762.

Progreſs of the negotiation with Spain.—Diſpoſition of the Britiſh cabinet.—Lord Briſtol makes repeated inquiries reſpecting the Family Compact, but without effect.—Quits Spain.—Memorial of De Fuentes.—Declaration of war.—Spain and France attempt to engage Portugal in their cauſe.—But failing, declare war againſt that kingdom.

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1761. Sept. 21ſt and 28th. Pacific appearance of Spain. Oct. 5.

FOR a ſhort period after Mr. Pitt's reſignation, the Earl of Briſtol continued convinced of the amicable diſpoſitions of the court of Spain. He even declared, that General Wall had ever acted in too ingenuous a manner to juſtify a ſuſpicion of duplicity, and intimated that every diſpute might eaſily be adjuſted, if a ſlight conceſſion, not inconſiſtent with juſtice or national dignity, was made by yielding ſome of our moſt recent encroachments in America. The court of Spain expreſſed regret at the termination of the treaty for peace with France, but indicated no diſpleaſure, nor the ſlighteſt deſign of interference.

Diſpoſition of the Britiſh cabinet.

THE Britiſh cabinet was diſpoſed to cultivate amity, and gratify the punctiliouſneſs of Caſtilian honour; but as, according to the aſſertions induſtriouſly circulated by France, Spain was on the point of engaging in the war, and the purport of the treaty which had been entered into was hoſtile to Great Britain, it became neceſſary to require an explicit declaration. Had they omitted this demand, the miniſtry would have been expoſed to juſt cenſure; and if they had proceeded in a negotiation, while a compact of ſuch ſuppoſed importance remained in a

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ſtate of inſcrutable myſtery, their puſillanimity would have been without juſtification or excuſe.

1761. 28th Oct. Lord Briſtol directed to make inquiries concerning the Family Compact.

ACCORDINGLY, Lord Briſtol was directed to uſe his moſt preſſing inſtances to obtain a communication of the treaty acknowledged to have been lately concluded between the courts of Madrid and Verſailles, or of ſuch articles as could, by particular and explicit engagements, immediately relate to the intereſt of Great Britain. At the ſame time, Lord Egremont, who wrote theſe inſtructions, ſtated, that although the King, confiding in his Catholic Majeſty's aſſurances of friendſhip, was unwilling to ſuppoſe it prejudicial to Great Britain, yet, as the declarations of France had been diligently and ſucceſsfully propagated, an explanation with regard to this already too much credited report, became equally neceſſary to the honour of his crown and the intereſt of his people. Lord Briſtol was to urge this matter in the moſt friendly terms, and, after gently inſinuating the arguments contained in the diſpatch, to ſhew that His Majeſty ought to be ſatisfied in this before he ſhould proceed to other points: But, on the other hand, he was directed to give the Spaniſh miniſter the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that this obſtacle once removed, His Majeſty was cordially diſpoſed to enter into an amicable diſcuſſion of other matters in diſpute, truſting that a confirmed reciprocal confidence, would indicate expedients to ſave the honour of both Kings, effect a ſatisfactory adjuſtment, and eſtabliſh an advantageous and permanent harmony.

IN a "ſecret and confidential" diſpatch, it was left to Lord Briſtol's judgment to decide the mode of commencing this important and delicate diſcuſſion; if he found inſuperable objections to the required communication; and if it ſhould be propoſed, in lieu of it, to give ſolemn aſſurances of the innocence of the treaty with reſpect to the King's

King's intereſt, he was not utterly to reject the alternative, but take it *ad referendum*, to be tranſmitted to the court of London; "Provided always, "that the ſaid aſſurances ſhould be given upon His "Catholic Majeſty's royal word, ſignified in writing, "either by the Spaniſh ſecretary of ſtate to Lord "Briſtol, or by the Conde de Fuentes to the ſecre-"tary of ſtate in London, and not otherwiſe."

Altered behaviour of the Spaniſh miniſter. 2d Nov.

BEFORE the arrival of this diſpatch, Lord Briſtol finding General Wall's behaviour greatly altered, had ſent a meſſenger expreſs to London. This alteration aroſe, moſt probably, from the intelligence of Mr. Pitt's reſignation, and its motives, which occaſioned great fermentation. The court of Madrid was at a loſs to conceive how the declaration of war ſhould ever have been moved in His Majeſty's council, ſince they always conſidered themſelves the aggrieved party, and never could imagine that the Engliſh would commence hoſtilities.

LORD BRISTOL, alarmed at the prevailing reports of an approaching rupture, and entertaining ſome apprehenſions of an agreement to that effect between their Catholic and Chriſtian Majeſties, declared to M. Wall, that he could neither hear ſuch reports with indifference, nor give credit to them without any explicit avowal from himſelf.

INSTEAD of a ſpecific anſwer, Wall began a recapitulation of the Spaniſh complaints, affirming that Great Britain, intoxicated with ſucceſs, had contemned the reaſonable conceſſions of France, with a view to ruin that power, that ſhe might more eaſily ſeize all the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in America, and thus gratify her unbounded thirſt of conqueſt. He added, with uncommon warmth, that ſince the King's dominions were to be overwhelmed, he would adviſe him at leaſt to arm his ſubjects, and not continue, as he had hitherto appeared, a paſſive victim.

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LORD BRISTOL, aſtoniſhed at this diſcourſe, and convinced he ſhould obtain no effectual anſwer to his inquiries at that conference, deſiſted, but again introducing the ſubject when M. Wall was not ſo much exaſperated, by dint of perſeverance obtained an avowal, that "his King thought "it time to open his eyes, and not ſuffer a neigh-"bour, an ally, a relation, and a friend, any longer "to run the riſque of receiving ſuch rigid laws, as "were preſcribed by an inſulting victor." The Spaniſh miniſter further acknowledged, that His Catholic Majeſty had judged it expedient to renew his Family Compacts with the Moſt Chriſtian King; but refuſed an anſwer to Lord Briſtol's inquiries concerning their nature and extent.

Conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry.

THE Britiſh miniſtry could not, after Mr. Pitt's reſignation, receive this intelligence with indifference. By reſiſting his advice, they had expoſed themſelves to the charge of timidity and want of foreſight, and in the laſt diſpatch to Lord Briſtol, had taken particular pains to obviate the effect of ſuch a ſuppoſition in Spain, by obſerving, that the meaſures of government would ſuffer no relaxation on account of Mr. Pitt's quitting the cabinet: far from its being true that the whole ſpirit of the war had ſubſided with him, the preſent miniſtry were reſolved, by a vigorous exertion of their powers, to avoid every imputation of indeciſion or indolence, and would ſtretch every nerve towards forcing the enemy to accede to a ſafe, honourable, and, above all, a laſting peace. The diſpatch alſo ſtated, that the moſt perfect harmony, mutual confidence, and unanimity, reigned in the council; with a thorough determination to puſh the war with ſuch vigour as would, under Providence, procure ſtill further ſucceſs.

19th Nov.

INFLUENCED by theſe juſt and dignified ſentiments, Lord Egremont, in a diſpatch to Lord Briſtol, after due commendations on his moderation,

tion, and ſome pointed remarks on the intemperance of the Spaniſh ſecretary, obſerved, that the reſult of his inquiries was unſatisfactory; he was, therefore, expreſsly commanded, without loſs of time, to demand an immediate, clear, and categorical explanation of the intentions of Spain, and aſſure M. Wall, in the moſt explicit terms, that any procraſtination, ambiguity, or evaſion, would be conſidered ſufficient ground for authorizing His Majeſty to take proper meaſures for the honour of his crown and protection of his people. At the ſame time, Lord Briſtol was directed cautiouſly to avoid harſhneſs of manner and not to mix any thing in his converſation which could have the leaſt tendency to indiſpoſe or irritate the Spaniſh miniſter, as the King's deſire of peace was ſincere, and the continuance of it would give him unbounded ſatisfaction. CHAP. III. 1761.

THIS diſpatch, which Lord Briſtol was inſtructed to uſe as he ſhould think proper, was accompanied by two others, in which was directed, if he did not receive the ſatisfaction required in the letter of the 28th of October, or the explanation which he was then permitted to take *ad referendum;* or if the Spaniſh miniſter ſhould acknowledge any agreement with any intention of joining France in the war; to quit Madrid without taking leave. And he was directed to ſignify to M. Wall, that a peremptory refuſal of giving ſatisfaction, or of diſavowing any intention to take part with our inveterate and declared enemies in the preſent conteſt, could not be conſidered by His Majeſty in any other light, than an aggreſſion, and an abſolute declaration of war.

MEANWHILE great exertions were made throughout Spain, for increaſing the military and naval eſtabliſhments; and large quantities of warlike ſtores were embarked for the Weſt Indies. Lord Briſtol, continuing to preſs for ſatisfaction on the Preparations in Spain.

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ſubject of the treaty, had ſucceeded in reſtoring Wall to his accuſtomed temper; and aſſurances of pacific diſpoſitions were reciprocally given. The King's ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion of Parliament, and the addreſs of the Houſe of Commons were communicated to the Spaniſh miniſter, who highly approved of the patriotiſm, moderation, and wiſdom which they diſplayed.

STILL no ſatisfaction could be obtained on the principal ſubject of inquiry. In a memorial tranſ-
21ſt Dec. mitted from Spain to the Conde de Fuentes, embaſſador in London, and delivered by him to Lord Egremont the claim of Great Britain to be informed of the nature of the treaty, and the manner in which that claim had been urged, were treated with great loftineſs.

3d Dec. Conduct of M. Wall.

SOON after receiving the diſpatches of the 28th of October, Lord Briſtol held a conference with Wall, who aſſumed a cold and diſtant deportment, treating the aſſurances of a pacific diſpoſition with diſregard; and obſerving, that although ſuch expreſſions could never be received but with ſincere ſatisfaction, yet as the Britiſh embaſſador had been ſo often directed to hold the ſame language, unaccompanied by any proofs of thoſe diſpoſitions, it could not ſeem extraordinary if Spain ſtill preſſed for the redreſs of grievances ſo long depending. With regard to the treaty, he ſaid, his royal maſter deemed it inconſiſtent with his dignity, either to grant a communication, or ſatisfy Britiſh curioſity in relation to any of the articles; yet he added as from himſelf, he could, with the utmoſt facility, give a poſitive anſwer to Lord Briſtol's inquiry.—Here he abruptly terminated his diſcourſe, nor could Lord Briſtol obtain any aſſurance of the innocency of the treaty, but received, inſtead, a copy of Wall's diſpatch to the Conde de Fuentes.

Lord Briſtol's interview with Wall.

THESE circumſtances made a ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of the Britiſh embaſſador, and he was

preparing

preparing diſpatches on the ſubject, when he received Lord Egremont's laſt official letters, and immediately waited on General Wall, who was confined to his chamber, ſtating the effect which his angry declarations had produced in London; but availing himſelf of the diſcretionary power with which he was intruſted, dwelt only in general terms on the intentions of Spain with regard to England. The reaſon he gives for this conduct, marks his good ſenſe and moderation: "I perceived General Wall's "tone to be of ſo conciliating a nature, he ex- "preſſed his wiſhes ſo ſtrongly that ſome method "might be found for an amicable adjuſtment "of our differences, and was ſo far from dropping "the leaſt word that could make me imagine "Spain intended to act hoſtilely againſt us, that "I began to flatter myſelf I might obtain the ca- "tegorical anſwer I was ordered to demand, with- "out the Spaniſh miniſter's ſuſpecting my ulti- "mate orders. When I was going out of his "room, he took me by the hand, and ſaid with a "ſmile, he hoped ———; but there he ſtopped. "I aſked him what he hoped, that I might alſo "hope, and that all might concur in the ſame "hopes; but his Excellency only bowed, and took "leave."

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THESE pleaſing illuſions vaniſhed the next evening, when Lord Briſtol received from the hand of M. Wall, a communication of the King's anſwer in writing, expreſſing, in general terms, eſteem for the King, and referring to the diſpatch to Fuentes; and this was declared to be the only anſwer the Catholic King judged it expedient to give. Lord Briſtol reminded the Spaniſh miniſter of the preſſing endeavours he had employed to procure a ſatisfactory explanation; and obſerved, that as he found himſelf unable to obtain a communication of the treaty, or the alternative which he had propoſed, he was now authorized to aſk,—Whether 7th Dec.

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the Catholic King intended to join the French, or to act hoſtilely? or would in any manner depart from his neutrality? To theſe interrogatories he required a categorical anſwer; adding, that a refuſal would be deemed an aggreſſion and a declaration of war.

THE miniſter was unprepared for this reſolute appeal. "I cannot deſcribe," Lord Briſtol ſays, "the ſurpriſe M. Wall expreſſed. He only brought "out theſe words, What is to follow? you are, "then, directed to withdraw from hence?" The embaſſador acknowledged that ſuch were his orders, but omitted no repreſentation which might induce Spain to prevent the miſeries of war, and even preſſed M. Wall to conquer the effects of his indiſpoſition, ſo far as to attend the King himſelf, and ſet forth the fatal conſequences which muſt reſult from with-holding a preciſe reply.

Lord Briſtol leaves Spain. 10th Dec.

LORD BRISTOL's demand being reduced to writing, M. Wall, in conformity to his advice, attended the King, and returned for anſwer, that the ſpirit of haughtineſs and diſcord which dictated this inconſiderate demand, and which, for the misfortune of mankind, ſtill reigned ſo much in the Britiſh government, was what made, in the ſame inſtant, the declaration of war, and attacked the King's dignity. Lord Briſtol was allowed to retire when and in what manner might be moſt convenient, and no other anſwer was to be given.

Memorial of Fuentes. 5th Dec.

THESE tranſactions were announced to De Fuentes from his court, with directions to depart from London: but he firſt delivered a memorial to the Britiſh miniſtry, declaring that the horrors into which the two nations were going to plunge themſelves, muſt be attributed only to the pride and unmeaſurable ambition of him who formerly held the reigns of government, and who appeared ſtill to hold them, although by another hand. He juſtified

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juſtified the King of Spain for not giving an anſwer reſpecting the treaty, on account of the inſulting manner in which all the affairs of Spain had been treated, during Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration: that miniſter, he ſaid, finding himſelf convinced of the juſtice which ſupported the Catholic King's pretenſions, vehemently aſſerted, "that he would "not relax in any thing, till the Tower of London "was taken ſword in hand." De Fuentes voluntarily declared the obnoxious treaty had no relation to the preſent war: and although His Catholic Majeſty had reaſon to be offended by the irregular manner in which the memorial was returned to M. de Buſſy, he had diſſembled, and, from his love of peace, cauſed a memorial to be delivered to Lord Briſtol, evidently demonſtrating that the proceedings of France which occaſioned ſo much ill-humour in the miniſter Pitt, did not affect the laws of neutrality, or the ſincerity of the two ſovereigns.

THE King of Spain had offered to wave the Family Compact for the preſent, if it was found an impediment for peace; but when the French miniſter continued his negotiation, without mentioning Spain, and propoſed conditions greatly to the advantage and honour of England, Pitt, to the aſtoniſhment of the univerſe, rejected them with diſdain, and ſhewed his ill-will againſt Spain to the great ſcandal of the Britiſh council.

THIS feeble attempt to create diſcord in the cabinet, and excite diſcontent in the nation, failed in producing thoſe effects: It was anſwered in a maſterly manner by Lord Egremont. War was declared againſt Spain, and a counter declaration iſſued in that country*.

War declared againſt Spain. 31ſt Dec. 2d Jan. 1762. 16th Jan.

* See papers relative to the rupture with Spain. The tranſactions thus minutely recorded, ſhew that Great Britain was not open to cenſure, on the one hand, for wantonly and unneceſſarily engaging in a war, or on the other for deferring hoſtilities till it was too late to proſecute them with effect.

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It is eaſy to perceive, from the conduct of this negotiation, that Spain was deſirous to avoid a war; but, duped by France, adopted thoſe meaſures which could not fail of producing it. Spain, anxious that the power of France ſhould not be too much reduced, would have attacked Great Britain in order to obtain favourable terms of peace, if ſhe could have hoped to do it with advantage. But the Spaniſh miniſter was not convinced that that period was arrived: even his anger bore the characteriſtic marks of fear and precipitation, and his moſt violent declarations ſeemed to be produced leſs by hope than deſpair. France, by the terms in which the claims of Spain had been mentioned in the courſe of the laſt treaty for peace, ſucceeded in exciting a jealouſy of the court of Madrid, and the colour given to the Family Compact, completed the miſtruſt, and roufed the vigilance of the Britiſh court. Nothing remained but to exaſperate the two countries to a ſufficient degree. To inflame the courage of Spain, the King of Pruſſia's affairs were repreſented in the moſt unfavourable light; and the admonitions of prudence were repelled by aſſurances, that Great Britain would never dare to contend againſt the united efforts of the houſe of Bourbon. The Family Compact obliged Spain to guaranty the ſafety of all ſuch poſſeſſions as ſhould remain to France after the war[b]; and to give the utmoſt beneficial effect to the treaty, the court of Verſailles, with crafty policy, inſtantly involved Spain as a principal in the conteſt.

Conduct of Spain towards Portugal.

Spain, having thus thrown herſelf into the arms of France, adopted all meaſures calculated to forward the intereſts of her ally. It was hoped that by producing a rupture with Portugal, Spain would have the tempting inducement of an eaſy

[b] See Article II.

conqueſt to engage with ſpirit in the war; and the injury done to the commerce of Britain, would more than counterbalance thoſe advantages which made the Engliſh miniſtry inſiſt on terms ſo humiliating as the price of peace[c]. CHAP. III. 1762.

As there was no pretence of juſtice for this attack, little attention was paid to appearances in the mode of commencing it. Large armies were aſſembled on the frontiers of Portugal; and the commerce of corn with Spain, was prohibited. The Spaniſh embaſſador, and French plenipotentiary, ſuddenly delivered a joint memorial to Joſeph, King of Portugal, ſtating, that the two monarchs had found it proper to eſtabliſh reciprocal obligations, and take other indiſpenſable ſteps to curb the pride of Britain; and the firſt meaſure they agreed on was, to include the Moſt Faithful King in their alliance; they, therefore, required him forthwith to declare himſelf united with their Catholic and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties, in the war againſt England, and to break off all correſpondence and commerce with that power, as the common enemy of all three, and of all maritime nations. A categorical anſwer was demanded in four days, and a delay was to be conſidered as a negative. 16th Mar.

On this memorial it is unneceſſary to make a ſingle comment: in the language of Mr. Pitt, "it ſpeaks its own enormity." Within the time limited, the King of Portugal returned an anſwer, declining, with decent firmneſs, all interference in the exiſting quarrels, unleſs his perſeverance in the line of neutrality, ſhould entitle him to the character of mediator: he delayed his motives with candour and temperance, and in the whole paper gave not the ſlighteſt appearance of irritation, or oſtentatious inflexibility. The Bourbon Portugal compelled to declare war. 20th Mar.

[c] Œuvres du Roi De Pruſſe, vol. iv. p. 59.

miniſters,

CHAP. III. 1762. 1st April. 5th. 23d April. 25th. 27th. 18th May. 16th and 20th June.

miniſters, in reply, preſented a ſecond memorial, in which they attempted, with deſpicable ſophiſtry, to invalidate the ſubſiſting treaties between Great Britain and Portugal, and to convince His Moſt Faithful Majeſty, that juſtice, no leſs than intereſt, ought to induce him to engage in the war. The anſwer to this inſidious and inſolent paper, breathes the ſpirit of an indignant monarch: after refuting the arguments adduced, the King concludes, "His Moſt "Faithful Majeſty declares, finally, that it would "affect him leſs (though reduced to the laſt extremity, of which the Supreme Judge is the ſole "arbiter) to let the laſt tile of his palace fall, and "ſee his faithful ſubjects ſpill the laſt drop of their "blood, than to ſacrifice, together with the honour "of his crown, all that Portugal holds moſt dear, "and ſubmit, by ſuch extraordinary means, to become an unheard-of example to all pacific powers, "who will be no longer able to enjoy the benefit of "neutrality, whenever a war ſhall be kindled between other nations, with which the former are "connected by defenſive treaties." This reſolution decided the allied monarchs, who concluded an angry memorial by requiring paſſports for their embaſſadors. The King of Portugal was not deterred by menaces from purſuing his ſyſtem: he delivered a juſtificatory paper, and, without delay, granted the required ſafe-conduct. The embaſſadors left Portugal; and Joſeph iſſued a declaration of war, which produced counter declarations from the Kings of France and Spain.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH:

1762.

Proceedings in Parliament. — Motion for papers. — Aſſiſtance granted to Portugal.—Prorogation.—Diſunion of the cabinet.—The Duke of Newcaſtle reſigns.—Lord Bute's miniſtry.—He diſcontinues the Pruſſian ſubſidy.—Death of Elizabeth Empreſs of Ruſſia.—Peter III. friendly to the King of Pruſſia.—Peace between Ruſſia and Pruſſia.—Report of Lord Bute's clandeſtine negotiations with Ruſſia and Auſtria, examined and refuted.—Revolution in Ruſſia.—Diſpoſition of Catherine II.—The King of Pruſſia retakes Schweidnits.—Caſſel taken.—Expedition againſt Martinico.—Capture of Grenada and its dependencies.—The French take the town of St. John's, Newfoundland: Which is recaptured.—War in Portugal.—Rapid ſucceſs of the Spaniards.—Arrival of the Britiſh troops.—General Burgoyne takes Valencia.—Beats up the enemy's quarters at Villa Velha.—Retreat of the Spaniards.—Expedition againſt the Havannah.—Progreſs and ſucceſs of the ſiege.—Expedition againſt the Philippine Iſles.—Manilla taken. Capture of the Stantiſſima Trinidad, and of the Hermione.—Unſucceſsful expedition againſt Buenos Ayres.

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WHEN Parliament met after the receſs, the King in a ſpeech from the throne, informed the houſes of the rupture with Spain, and with great force and propriety exculpated himſelf from all blame in the tranſaction. The Houſe of Commons made a dutiful anſwer, and promiſed their firm ſupport.

15th Jan. Proceedings in parliament.

BEFORE the receſs, (11th Dec.) a motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, to addreſs the King for copies of all memorials delivered by the Spaniſh embaſſador, and as it was ſupported by Mr. Pitt, his conduct in reſigning was rendered an object of diſcuſſion. He inſiſted, that every paper which had paſſed during the ſix years negotiation

Motion for papers.

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tiation with Spain, relative to the exiſting diſputes, ſhould be laid before the houſe, but the propoſal was rejected.

MOTIONS to the ſame effect being renewed, the ſame topics were neceſſarily introduced: Lord Temple vindicated the conduct of himſelf and Mr. Pitt in reſigning, and intimated that a knowledge of the exiſtence of the Family Compact, was the foundation of their advice. Lord Bute poſitively aſſerting that there was no intelligence of ſuch a fact, ſo conſtituted, at that time, as to be depended on; challenged him to produce it, and required to know where it might be found, that he might requeſt the King to order it to be laid before the houſe. Lord Temple quitting his ſeat, ſaid, he was not at liberty to publiſh that intelligence, but would refreſh his Lordſhip's memory in private. A ſhort whiſpering took place between the two peers. It is averred, on the one hand, that Lord Bute was perfectly ſatisfied of the correctneſs of Lord Temple's aſſertion; on the other, and with more appearance of probability, that the reſult of their converſation was not productive of ſuch conviction. It naturally occurs on ſuch an occaſion to aſk, why Lord Temple did not juſtify himſelf in his place? why he did not perſevere in ſtating to the whole houſe that he had the means of proving what he advanced, if Lord Bute would procure His Majeſty's diſpenſation from the effect of his oath as privy counſellor? It is even averred, that the aſſertion which gave riſe to this extraordinary ſcene was often repeated in the courſe of the debates on the production of papers; but never, in any manner, repelled by Lord Temple[a]. The papers were laid before Parliament, and printed.

25th Jan

[a] See Hiſtory of the late Minority. p. 33. The contrary ſtatement is taken from a paper of memoranda among the MSS. of Lord Melcombe.

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5th Feb. Motion reſpecting the war in Germany.

THE conduct of the war did not eſcape animadverſion. A motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, when the King's ſpeech came under conſideration, reprobating the expenſe of campaigns in Germany; affirming that the French force was greatly ſuperior to any that could be maintained by Great Britain; and recommending that the troops employed abroad ſhould be brought home for the protection of Great Britain and Ireland, and for the purpoſe of diminiſhing the national burdens. The arguments by which this queſtion was ſupported or oppoſed, are not preſerved, but it was negatived by a large majority[b]. It occaſioned a ſtrong proteſt, which was ſubſcribed by ſeven peers; among whom was the Duke of Bedford, lord privy ſeal[c].

Aſſiſtance granted to Portugal. 11th May.

THE progreſs of French and Spaniſh aggreſſion againſt Portugal, having determined the King to afford the aſſiſtance due to the merits and neceſſities of ſo faithful an ally, a meſſage was delivered to the Houſe of Commons, requeſting them to enable His Majeſty to defray any extraordinary expenſes of the war, and take neceſſary meaſures for defeating the enterpriſes of the enemy.

13th May.

THE miniſtry propoſed a grant of a million, but it was objected, that the ſum was too large for the ſuppoſed purpoſe, and the King of Portugal had no right to expect any aſſiſtance from Great Britain, becauſe he had violated his engagements with the Engliſh wine-merchants. Mr. Pitt, with great ſpirit and propriety, argued in favour of the ſupply; vindicated the King of Portugal, and aſſerted that the ſum intended was not more than ſufficient. He defended the conduct of the German war; and ridiculed the notion of Great Britain being rendered incapable of proſecuting the conteſt for want

[b] Contents 26. Non contents 105.

[c] A ſimilar queſtion was debated in the Houſe of Commons 'Dec. 9th' when the Houſe was ſo crouded with viſitors, that the members found difficulty in taking their ſeats. The order for excluding ſtrangers was carried during the remainder of the ſeſſion.

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of reſources. France he affirmed was a ruined nation, and if his advice had been adopted, one campaign would have ſufficed to bring the war to a fortunate concluſion. After ſome further obſervations, moſtly of a perſonal nature, the ſum required was voted.

24 June Prorogation.

In cloſing the ſeſſion, His Majeſty mentioned the hopes he ſtill entertained of ſeeing the conflicts which agitated Europe happily terminated; and aſſured Parliament he would return their zeal and affection for his perſon and government, by a conſtant attention to whatever might contribute to the eaſe of his ſubjects; and it was his ardent wiſh to found the glories of his reign on the union of his people, and the welfare and proſperity of his kingdoms.

Diſunion of the Cabinet.

Since the retreat of Mr. Pitt, the miniſtry had preſerved no appearance of unanimity. Great jealouſies ſubſiſted between the Duke of Newcaſtle and Lord Bute, occaſioned no leſs by the deſire of pre-eminence, than by a radical difference of principles and politics. The Duke of Newcaſtle, on his entrance into public life, enliſted under the banners of party, and was ſupported through the long period of his miniſterial career, by party and family alliances: Lord Bute, purſuing, or perhaps directing, the ſyſtem of his ſovereign, was deſirous to free the throne from excluſive domination, and to acquire independence, by reſiſting claims derived from family and adventitious connexions. The Duke of Newcaſtle, habituated to Mr. Pitt's aſcendancy, bore it without reſiſtance; but could not endure to be conſidered inferior to Lord Bute. For this reaſon, while the people carried their idolatry of the late miniſter to the greateſt exceſs, and attributed to his foreſight all the ſucceſſes which adorned the annals of the new adminiſtration, thoſe men in office who, from ſituation and character, were beſt able to counteract

teract the effect of theſe reports, ſurveyed their progreſs with indifference, and if not actually in league with the oppoſition, yet formed a combination among themſelves, which left Lord Bute weakly ſupported to ſtruggle againſt the united efforts of a party, formidable from numbers, abilities, and popularity [d].

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THE means of proſecuting the war, formed a principal ground of difference between Lord Bute and the Duke of Newcaſtle. Lord Bute determined to withdraw all pecuniary ſupport from the King of Pruſſia, and to relax the efforts which this country was making on the continent of Europe. The Duke of Newcaſtle, having reſolved on an oppoſite mode of conduct, waited on Lord Bute, and in a peremptory manner inſiſted on two millions for carrying on the German war, and paying the King of Pruſſia's ſubſidy. Lord Bute ſhewing himſelf averſe to the meaſure, the Duke of Newcaſtle declared his intention to reſign, unleſs the money was raiſed. His Lordſhip anſwered, drily, "that if he reſigned the peace might be retarded; "but never requeſted him to continue in office, "nor ſaid a civil thing to him afterwards while "they remained together. The Duke went im- "mediately to St. James's, demanded an audience, "and announced his unalterable reſolution to re- "linquiſh his ſtation, if the ſubſidy to Pruſſia was "not continued. The King replied, he ſhould "regret ſuch a determination, becauſe he was "perſuaded that he wiſhed well to his ſervice; "and thus the conference ended [e]."

THE Duke of Newcaſtle immediately reſigned, refuſing a penſion, which was offered as the only reward in the power of government to beſtow for his long ſervices, and the diminution of his large eſtate in the uniform ſupport of the houſe of

2d May. The Duke of Newcaſtle reſigns.

[d] Letter from Lord Melcombe to Lord Bute, 13th April 1762.

[e] This account is taken from a letter written by the Duke of Newcaſtle to Lord Hardwicke, 7th May 1762.

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Brunſwick. Lord Bute took his ſituation at the head of the treaſury; Mr. Grenville was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, and Sir Francis Daſhwood chancellor of the exchequer.

1762. 26th May. Lord Bute's miniſtry.

Death of Elizabeth Empreſs of Ruſſia.

IF the ſituation of the King of Pruſſia had been ſo deſperate at this period, as at the end of laſt campaign, policy and juſtice would have been equally repugnant to the refuſal of his ſubſidy; but an incident which human foreſight could not divine, and againſt which all the wiſdom of man would have been exerted in vain, had greatly meliorated the condition of Frederick, and even enabled him to retrieve his former loſſes. This event was the death of Elizabeth Empreſs of Ruſſia, one of his moſt formidable enemies.

5th Jan.

Peter III. friendly to the King of Pruſſia.

HER nephew and ſucceſſor, Peter III., had from motives of jealous policy, been kept at a diſtance from the court. His underſtanding was below mediocrity, and his habits diſſipated and indolent. He had formed a friendly attachment to the King of Pruſſia, who, with his uſual addreſs, turned that circumſtance to great advantage. He congratulated Peter on his acceſſion, and received an anſwer dictated by the warmth of ſincere friendſhip: a negotiation was ſpeedily commenced between them, and, after ſome time, a treaty of peace was ſigned: an alliance was afterwards entered into, in conſequence of which the army under Czernichef, amounting to twenty thouſand men, was tranſferred to the ſervice of Frederick [e].

16th Mar.

5th May. Peace concluded between Ruſſia and Pruſſia.

THE refuſal of Lord Bute to continue the Pruſſian ſubſidy has been ſeverely arraigned, and many falſe repreſentations made of his conduct and motives. It is aſſerted that, ſoon after the acceſſion of Peter III., he empowered Prince Gallitzin, the Ruſſian envoy extraordinary, to inform his ſovereign, that whatever ceſſions he might require

[e] Œuvres du Roi de Pruſſe, vol. iv. c. 15. Coxe's Travels in Poland, Ruſſia, &c. vol. iii. c. 1. Life of the Empreſs Catherine II. vol. i. c. 2.

from

from Frederick, England would enſure compliance; and adviſed the new Emperor to keep the King of Pruſſia in check, by means of the corps under Czernichef. Peter, the ſame accounts add, indignant at this duplicity, tranſmitted the diſpatch to the King of Pruſſia. It is alſo averred, that ſimilar overtures were made to Auſtria, but failed through one of thoſe refinements in policy which often lead ſtateſmen into miſtakes. Kaunitz, the Imperial prime miniſter, apprehending that Lord Bute's view in making theſe propoſals, was to create diſſenſions between the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, haughtily anſwered, that the Empreſs Queen was ſufficiently powerful to do juſtice to her own claims, nor would ſhe degrade her dignity by acceding to a peace mediated by England [h].

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BOTH theſe accounts are abſolutely devoid of foundation, and moſt probably originated partly in miſtake, and partly in the reſentment felt by the King of Pruſſia at the refuſal of his ſubſidy, though in this alſo the miniſter was perfectly juſtifiable.

AT the concluſion of the laſt campaign, the diſadvantageous circumſtances of Frederick were truly commiſerated by the King: and it was reſolved to afford him the uſual ſuccours. The terms of the former treaty were open to ſome objections, but the ſubſtance was not diſputed. The negotiations on this ſubject were carried on till the beginning of the year 1762, when war was declared againſt Spain, and the neceſſity of defending Portugal was foreſeen. The Britiſh miniſtry then directed Mr. Mitchell, envoy extraordinary, to recommend in the King's name, that His Pruſſian Majeſty ſhould endeavour to commence a pacific negotiation with the court of Vienna: he was deſired to communicate the terms on which he

[h] Œuvres du Roi de Pruſſe, ubi ſup. See alſo Hiſtory of the late Minority, c. v.

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would be willing to treat, with an aſſurance of the King's deſire to aſſiſt in bringing ſo ſalutary a deſign to perfection. The King of Pruſſia was alſo requeſted to ſtate the means on which he could rely, after ſo many misfortunes, and ſuch a diminution of his power, for carrying on the war, if that were his intention. This explanation, though anxiouſly expected, was ſtill refuſed: the King, hurt at
February. a ſilence ſo unexpected and unjuſtifiable, made his complaints on the ſubject, but ſtill perſevered in the intention of applying to parliament, at a proper time, to renew the ſubſidy.

In this interval, news arrived of the death of Elizabeth, which was ſpeedily followed by a manifeſto of Peter[1], exhorting the King of Pruſſia's enemies to put a ſpeedy end to the war, and declaring his own reſolution of reſtoring to that prince the conqueſts made by his predeceſſor. Still the Britiſh miniſtry waited for ſuch a communication from the King of Pruſſia, as would juſtify them, in times of ſuch extreme difficulty, for applying to parliament to increaſe the national burdens by a renewal of the ſubſidy; and it was not till after
April. a long term of fruitleſs expectation, that Mr. Mitchell was directed to hold ſuch language as would prepare Frederick for a total ceſſation of pecuniary ſuccour.

From the moment of the acceſſion of Peter III. the King of Pruſſia had maintained a reſerved and unfriendly behaviour toward Great Britain. He clandeſtinely entered into a negotiation with the Czar; the objects of which were extremely detrimental to the Britiſh intereſt, and prejudicial to the engagements of this country with Denmark. The intention of this treaty was, that Peter ſhould guaranty to the King of Pruſſia the Duchy of Sileſia; in return for which, Frederick was to aſſure to him the poſſeſſion of Sleſwick. While this negotiation was proceeding, and conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy, the King

[1] Dated 28th February.

of

of Pruſſia ſtill directed his miniſters in London to preſs for a continuance of his ſubſidy, although he knew that the meaſures in which he was engaged tended to counteract the pacific intentions of the King, to ſpread the flames of war, and increaſe the miſeries of mankind.

THE refuſal to continue the ſubſidy was not reſolved on, till an armiſtice was concluded between Pruſſia and Ruſſia, and it was extremely probable that Sweden would accede to the ſame meaſure.

UNDER ſuch circumſtances, Frederick had no right, according to his own declarations, to expect from this country any further pecuniary ſupplies. At an early period of the war*, he had ſtated to Mr. Mitchell, who officially communicated the information to Lord Holderneſſe, then ſecretary of ſtate, that if England would only engage to prevent his being attacked by Ruſſia, he ſhould have ſo little occaſion for aſſiſtance, that he might even be ready to furniſh a body of troops for the defence of Hanover. At the preſent criſis, Great Britain had a powerful additional enemy; Pruſſia a new potent friend: the weight of Ruſſia and Sweden was ſubducted from the ſcale of his opponents; that of Spain was added to ours: Frederick had Pomerania and Brandenbourg, which were no longer in danger, to defend, beſide Saxony and Sileſia; England had to maintain an extenſive war in Germany, and to provide for another in Portugal. This compariſon could not eſcape the obſervation of the King of Pruſſia, nor could he reaſonably expect that, without a certainty of its being applied towards leſſening the objects of war, it was poſſible to propoſe the ſubſidy to parliament with any hopes of ſucceſs.

THE accuſations alleged againſt the Britiſh miniſter, reſpecting clandeſtine negotiations with the Emperor of Ruſſia, and the Empreſs Queen, are founded either in total miſtake, or wilful miſrepreſentation. Frederick, at the time, complained to the King of the re-

* June and July, 1756.

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ports which had reached him on the ſubject; and although His Majeſty did not think it ſuitable, either to his own dignity or that of the King of Pruſſia, to enter perſonally into ſuch altercations, he permitted Lord Bute to explain the facts, and ſet them in their true light.

In a diſpatch, written to Mr. Mitchell for the expreſs purpoſe of being communicated to Count Finkenſtein, the Pruſſian prime-miniſter, Lord Bute termed the report of his endeavouring to enter into a ſeparate treaty with Auſtria, a groundleſs and ſhameful falſehood, tranſmitted to the King from his miniſters in England. This explicit and ſtrenuous diſavowal, communicated directly from the prime-miniſter of England to Pruſſia, was quite ſufficient to deſtroy the credibility of unauthenticated hearſays, which formed the only ground of the ſuſpicion then entertained, and ſince perpetuated by the publication of Frederick's poſthumous works.

26th May.

With reſpect to his ſuppoſed intimations to Prince Gallitzin, Lord Bute explained himſelf more amply, and in a manner abundantly ſatisfactory: he declared the reports which had reached the King of Pruſſia from the Ruſſian envoy, to be in no reſpect conformable to the ſentiments he had imparted; and imputed the miſrepreſentation either to miſtake, failure of memory, or the known attachment of the Prince to the court of Vienna, which might induce him to give ſuch a turn to his relation of Lord Bute's diſcourſe, as he might think moſt likely to ſerve that intereſt.

Mr. Keith, the Britiſh miniſter at Peterſburg, judged, from the particular coldneſs of the Czar, and from hints which he dropped, that ſomething written by Prince Gallitzin reſpecting the King's diſpoſition towards Frederick, had given him offence, and this intelligence the Ruſſian monarch probably communicated to the King of Pruſſia, who had been before diſpoſed, by the malignant and miſchievous inſinuations of his miniſters, to give it, however, incredible, implicit belief.

But,

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BUT, at the time of his interview with Prince Gallitzin, Lord Bute had before him his firſt diſpatch to Mr. Keith, after the death of the Empreſs: his diſcourſe with the envoy was perfectly conformable to that diſpatch, which contained the King's own ſentiments. Inſtead of adviſing Peter to continue his troops on the King of Pruſſia's territories, the King there expreſſed particular pleaſure and ſatisfaction at their being ordered to advance no further, to abſtain from hoſtilities, and accept an armiſtice if offered: far from deſiring that the court of Ruſſia ſhould prefer an Auſtrian to a Pruſſian alliance, Mr. Keith was directed to execute certain inſtructions ſent him by Frederick, which were not favourable to the Empreſs Queen.

THE King of Pruſſia might probably take umbrage at the ſtrong preference given in that diſpatch to pacific meaſures, and at the reſtriction laid on Mr. Keith from concurring in any propoſal tending to protract the war: this however was no ſecret inſtruction; for Mr. Mitchell was directed to make the ſame declaration, and ſhape his conduct by the ſame rule.

FOR the ſatisfaction of the King of Pruſſia on this point, Lord Bute tranſmitted to Mr. Mitchell, *in extenſo*, every word in the diſpatch to Mr. Keith relating to the general affairs of Europe, or to the King of Pruſſia in particular. He forcibly diſplayed the extreme improbability of his holding to the Ruſſian miniſter a language, not merely different from, but abſolutely contradictory to the orders he had juſt ſent from the King to his own miniſter at that court; and of his declaring, or even inſinuating, with thoſe very orders in his hand, that His Majeſty's ſentiments were diametrically oppoſite[1].

BESIDE the advantageous change which had taken place in the politics of Ruſſia, ſome other circumſtances contributed to reſtore the affairs of

[1] From two diſpatches from Lord Bute to Mr. afterwards Sir Andrew Mitchell, dated 9th April and 26th May 1762. See Appendix.

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Frederick. The Empreſs Queen, confident of being able to achieve all her projects, and inſtigated by a ſpirit of parſimony never ſafely indulged in war, diſmiſſed twenty thouſand of her troops. The King of Pruſſia alſo agreed to a ceſſation of arms with Sweden[m]; and, being thus diſembarraſſed, was enabled to enter on the campaign with a change in the ſcale of forces, amounting to ſixty thouſand men, in his favour; a greater advantage, as he himſelf obſerves, than he could have derived from gaining three pitched battles[n].

7th Mar.

Revolution in Ruſſia.

UNDER theſe favourable circumſtances, Frederick began his operations in Sileſia; but, before he had made any conſiderable progreſs, another revolution in Ruſſia deprived him, in part, of the benefits he expected to derive from the fortunate turn in his affairs. The new Emperor, faſcinated with the character of his friend the King of Pruſſia, and impelled by an abſurd inſtinct of imitation, made him his model in every particular. Not content with joining him in war, he introduced the Pruſſian diſcipline into his army, and the Pruſſian, or, as it is called, Frederician Code into his ſenate. He was obſtinately bent on a war with Denmark; attacked the property of the clergy; and formed a project for repudiating his conſort, marrying his miſtreſs, and declaring his ſon illegitimate[o]. Theſe acts rendered him highly unpopular; and ſelf-preſervation, as well as ambition ſtipulated Catherine to a ſpeedy and vigorous exertion. The feeble character of the Emperor facilitated her deſigns; the execution of his great projects required talents which he did not poſſeſs: a conſpiracy was formed againſt him; he was depoſed, ſigned an abject inſtrument of abdication; was impriſoned, treated with neglect and harſhneſs, and at

10th July.

[m] Peace was concluded the 22d May.

[n] Œuvres du Roi de Pruſſe, ubi ſup.

[o] See Coxe's Travels in Ruſſia, &c. vol. iii. c. 1. which contains the earlieſt and moſt authentic account of this revolution

length,

length, if we may believe an uncontradicted report, privately aſſaſſinated [p]. CHAP. IV.

THE King of Pruſſia expected this revolution to be highly prejudicial to his affairs, and that Catherine would entertain an hatred againſt him, proportioned to the friendſhip of Peter; but that Princeſs ſhewed no ſymptoms of a vindictive diſpoſition; on the contrary, finding from the correſpondence which came to her hands after her huſband's dethronement, that Frederick had ever oppoſed his rage for reformation, and counſelled him to treat his conſort with due tenderneſs, ſhe was ſenſibly affected. It was not conſiſtent with her policy to diſguſt her ſubjects, by compelling them to ſerve on the oppoſite ſide to that on which they had been ſo many years engaged; or give offence to the courts of Vienna and Verſailles. She therefore withdrew the Ruſſian auxiliaries from the King of Pruſſia's army, but reſtored the conqueſt which had been made by Elizabeth, and contented herſelf with obſerving a prudent neutrality. Frederick, though deprived of this aſſiſtance, made a ſucceſsful campaign, recovered the fortreſs of Schweidnitz, and convinced his enemies that their project of deſtroying him was not advanced by all their exertions [q]. 1762. 17th July. 9th Oct. The King of Pruſſia retakes Schweidnitz.

THE campaign of the allied armies under Prince Ferdinand, and the Marquis of Granby, was brilliant and ſucceſsful: they ſucceeded in preventing the French from obtaining poſſeſſion of Hanover, and took from them the city of Caſſel. Caſſel taken.

A continuance of the war produced no benefit to France; the vigour with which hoſtilities were carried on, ſhewed that the miniſter, who ardently deſired peace, was ſenſible that it could be effectually obtained only by ſucceſs in the field. A formidable 7th Nov. Expedition againſt Martinique.

[p] See life of the Empreſs Catherine II. vol. i. c. 2. Hiſtory of the Revolution in Ruſſia, by M. de Rulhiere.—It is to be obſerved of this unfortunate prince, that although his imprudence, levity, and puſillanimity, expoſed him to cenſure and contempt, he poſſeſſed many amiable qualities, and rendered ſome eſſential ſervices to his country.

[q] Œuvres du Roi de Pruſſe, vol. iv. c. 16.

land

CHAP. IV. land force of twelve thouſand men, under the command of General Monckton, with a fleet of eighteen ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and inferior veſſels, under Rear-Admiral Rodney, ſailed to attack Martinique, the chief of the French Leeward Iſlands, the reſidence of the Governor-General, and the ſovereign council. On anchoring in St. Anne's Bay, the Raiſonable man of war was loſt, through the unſkilfulneſs of the pilot, and the place being deemed improper for a diſembarkation, two brigades landed at the bay of Petite Anſe, and the reſt of the army at a creek called Cas des Navires. The Iſland was defended by few regular troops, but had a numerous and well armed militia, and was in itſelf a natural fortification, from a number of ravines and rivulets with which it was interſected; and the French, with great judgment, poſted guards, and erected batteries to impede the progreſs of invaſion. As a preparatory meaſure to the ſiege of Fort Royal, the General attacked two eminences, called Morne Tortenſon, and Morne Garnier. The former was aſſailed with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, and though defended with ſpirit and pertinacity, finally captured. Morne Garnier, being equally ſtrong, much higher, and overlooking and commanding the other, three days were employed in making the diſpoſitions for the aſſault, in which period the enemy made a furious ſally on the Engliſh out-poſts: they were not only repulſed, but the party attacked paſſing the ravines, ſcaled the hill, ſeized the batteries, and obtained complete poſſeſſion of Morne Garnier. Theſe poſitions being gained, the enemy waited only till the batteries againſt Fort Royal were completed, to yield; and when General Monckton was preparing to embark with his troops for the attack of St. Pierre, the capital of the iſland, the French, intimidated by preceding events, ſurrendered by capitulation[r].

1762.
5th Jan.
8th.
16th.
24th.
4th Feb.
12th.

[r] The thanks of Parliament were voted to the commanders on this expedition. See debates, 6th May 1762.

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1762.

After the capture of Martinique, Grenada, and the Grenadines, Tobago, St Lucie, and St. Vincent's ſpeedily ſurrendered; and the whole property of the Charibbee Iſlands centered in Great Britain [1].

Capture of Grenada, &c.

To counterbalance theſe advantages, France made only one temporary conqueſt. A ſquadron under M. de Tourney, eſcaping from Breſt in a fog, entered the Bay of Bulls in Newfoundland, captured the town of St. John's, took priſoners a company of ſoldiers, who conſtituted the garriſon; captured a ſloop of war and ſeveral other veſſels, deſtroyed the ſtages for curing cod, and did conſiderable damage. Orders were immediately iſſued for fitting out a ſquadron to reconquer the place, but Sir Jeffery Amherſt had previouſly diſpatched Lord Colville and Colonel Amherſt from Halifax, who eaſily expelled the invaders [2].

4th Mar. The French take the town of St. John's, Newfoundland.

24th June.

Which is recaptured 18th Sept.

War in Portugal.

When Spain was induced to enter into the war, the project of a ſucceſsful attack on Portugal, was a conſolation for the loſſes ſhe might expect to ſuſtain in other quarters. Portugal appeared intirely helpleſs and diſtracted; the feebleneſs of its government, the effects of bigotry, the melancholy remains of a dangerous conſpiracy, and the horrors of a recent earthquake, all contributed to render this unhappy kingdom an object of generous compaſſion rather than of unprovoked aggreſſion.

Rapid ſucceſs of the Spaniards.

The vicinity of the Spaniſh troops to the frontier gave them great advantages; they paſſed the boundary before war was declared, and an army, commanded by the Marquis de Sarria, laid ſiege to the town of Miranda. A powder magazine blew up by accident, and, beſides deſtroying five hundred of the garriſon, made ſuch breaches in the wall, that the Spaniards marched in without difficulty, before they had raiſed their firſt battery. Braganza and Moncorvo ſurrendered without reſiſtance; Chaves was evacuated on the approach of

9th May.

15th.

24th.

[1] Bearſon's Naval and Military Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 149 to 164.
[2] Ibid p. 204.

Count

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Count O'Reilly; and Spain having overrun almoſt the whole province of Tra los Montes, Oporto was conſidered in ſo much danger that the Britiſh Admiral was preparing to carry off the factory. The Spaniards, however, in attempting to croſs the Douro, were oppoſed by the peaſantry, and compelled to retire to Torre de Moncorvo [u].

25th July.

A SECOND body entered the province of Beira, at the villages of Val de Mula and Val de Coelha, and being joined by ſtrong detachments from the diviſion in Tra los Montes, laid ſiege to Almeida,

25th Aug.

which, after an honourable reſiſtance, capitulated on favourable terms.

Arrival of the Britiſh troops.

GREAT Britain ſent to the ſuccour of Portugal eight thouſand troops, commanded by Lord Tyrawley (who alſo acted as embaſſador), the Earl of Loudon [x], Lieutenant-General Townſend, and under them Lord George Lenox, and Brigadiers Crawford and Burgoyne. Finding himſelf but ill ſeconded by the Portugueſe, who could not eaſily conquer their bigoted averſion to heretics, Lord Tyrawley retired in diſguſt, declaring that the war between Spain and Portugal was a mere colluſion to dupe the Britiſh government [y]. Fortunately at this period, the command of the Portugueſe force was given to the Count de la Lippe Buckbourg, an active and intelligent

[u] In this action the King of Spain accuſes the Portugueſe of having cruelly maimed and mutilated his ſubjects,—conduct which was afterwards ſeverely reveneed. See the King of Spain's manifeſto, 25th June.

[x] The Earl of Loudon, who was appointed ſecond in command, attended the troops from England; Lord Tyrawley had previouſly arrived.

[y] Such was the account given by Lord Tyrawley, but nearly forty years afterward, when paſſion muſt have ſubſided, and no motive for miſrepreſentation could exiſt, the Marquis Townſend, in a debate in the Houſe of Lords, ſaid: of the attachment of Portugal to this country, he ſhould always be ready to bear teſtimony, and he could do ſo from perſonal knowledge. He ſerved in that kingdom in 1762; and it was not poſſible for any troops in a foreign land to receive ſtronger marks of attachment, or a more hearty co-operation, than that experienced by the troops of His Britannic Majeſty, at the period to which he alluded. All ranks of people ſhewed the utmoſt alacrity in affording their aſſiſtance; and it was no where more conſpicuous than among the mountaineers and the loweſt order of the people. This it was that rendered the reſiſtance to the enemies of Portugal effectual and ſucceſsful.

officer,

officer, who had commanded the artillery of the British army in Weſtphalia during the preſent war; he was exempt from all participation in the feuds which occaſioned the retreat of Lord Tyrawley, and, in conjunction with the Earl of Loudon, began immediate operations againſt a third detachment of Spaniards, who were preparing to enter Portugal. CHAP. IV. 1762.

THE attack of Valencia d'Alcantara, where large magazines of flour and forage were ſuppoſed to be collected, was entruſted to Brigadier Burgoyne. He hoped to ſurpriſe the place, but being diſappointed, carried the town by a vigorous coup de main, with inconſiderable loſs, taking a Major-General, upward of twenty officers, fifty-nine ſoldiers, three pair of colours, and a great quantity of arms and amunition. He levied a contribution, amounting to the ſum of the King's revenue for one year, in conſideration of ſparing the churches and convents, and brought away hoſtages for the care of the wounded, and the payment of the ſtipulated ſum. General Burgoyne takes Valencia. 27th Aug.

THE army under the Conde d'Aranda, having left garriſons in Almeida and Caſtel Roderigo, marched to Caſtel Branco, forcing La Lippe to retreat, and intending to croſs the Tagus at Villa Velha. It was of the utmoſt importance to counteract this attempt, and prevent their forcing a paſſage through the mountains. Count de St. Jago occupied the paſs of Alvito, deemed impregnable, and Burgoyne was encamped on the ſouthern bank of the Tagus, over againſt Villa Velha. The enemy placed ſix thouſand men in front of the count St. Jago, attacked the old Mooriſh caſtle of Villa Velha on his right, and aſſaulted a poſt on his left at the defile of St. Simon. Burgoyne for ſome days protected the caſtle by his cannon acroſs the river; but it was at length taken, St. Simon was reduced, and the enemy obtained poſſeſſion of the paſſes of the mountains. St. Jago being thus placed And beats up the enemy's quarters at Villa Velha. 18 Oct.

CHAP. IV. 1762.

placed in imminent danger, La Lippe ordered him to retire, and Lord Loudon was directed to advance through the mountains to protect the retreat. The enemy penetrating into this intention, detached a ſtrong body over the river Alvito, to haraſs Lord Loudon's rear, which weakened their corps at Villa Velha ſo much, that Burgoyne was encouraged to beat up their quarters. Colonel Lee paſſed the Tagus in the night, and while the Spaniards were amuſed by a feint in front, entered their encampment unperceived, and routed them with great ſlaughter; moſt of their officers were killed, the magazines deſtroyed, and ſome priſoners taken, beſides a valuable booty. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, La Lippe found it impoſſible to defend the paſſes, and therefore aſſembled his forces at Macao; but the Spaniards, fruſtrated in all their endeavours to croſs the Tagus, partly by the vigilance of La Lippe, and partly by the heavy rains, evacuated the province of Eſtremadura, where they could not maintain themſelves during the winter, and having diſmantled the caſtle of Almeida, Caſtel Roderigo, and Caſtel Borri, terminated a campaign, from which they derived neither honour nor advantage.

6th Oct.

Retreat of the Spaniards.

Expedition againſt the Havannah.

In other quarters their ill-fortune was ſtill more conſpicuous. The Britiſh miniſtry, diſdaining all attempts at ſubordinate acquiſition, meditated the reduction of the Havannah, the principal town of the iſland of Cuba, where the Spaniſh galleons and the flota aſſembled before they finally ſailed for Europe, a conqueſt which would ſtrike terror, and produce the moſt auſpicious conſequences. The preparations were commenſurate to the object: a fleet ſailing from Portſmouth under Admiral Pococke, with ten thouſand men, commanded by Lord Albemarle, the friend and pupil of the Duke of Cumberland, was joined off Cape Nicola, by part of the ſquadron which had been ſo ſucceſsful in the operations againſt Martinique, under the orders of

5th Mar. 27th May.

of Sir James Douglas. Thus united, they consiſted of nineteen ſail of the line, eighteen ſmaller ſhips of war, and nearly a hundred and fifty tranſports. To avoid the tedioufneſs of the common voyage, the Admiral boldly explored a perilous way through the old ſtraights of Bahama, a narrow paſſage almoſt ſeven hundred miles in length bounded on both ſides by dangerous ſands and ſhoals; and, without the ſlighteſt accident, arrived before the Havannah. CHAP. IV. 1762. 5th June.

ALTHOUGH no immediate attack was expected, the town was of ſufficient ſtrength, both from art and nature, to make a vigorous reſiſtance. By favour of a judicious feint, the troops were landed without loſs or oppoſition, and being divided into two corps, one, under General Elliot, advanced a conſiderable way into the country, while the other, under General Keppel, beſieged the Moro, a fort which commanded the town, and the entrance into the harbour. The difficulties attending this operation were deemed inſurmountable. The earth was ſo thin that the beſiegers, to cover their approaches, uſed bags of cotton, forming part of the cargo of ſome ſhips brought from Jamaica by Sir James Douglas. There was no ſpring or river in the vicinity; the ſupply of water from the country was precarious and ſcanty, and they were obliged principally to depend on the ſhipping. The labour of cutting roads for communication through the woods, and drawing the artillery was ſo exceſſive, that many dropped down dead with fatigue; but every thing yielded to vigorous perſeverance; batteries were raiſed to aſſail the fort and ſhipping; the Spaniards, fifteen thouſand in number, were repulſed in a reſolute ſally; and three Britiſh men of war brought their guns to bear on the Moro. Theſe efforts did not make the expected impreſſion; the men of war ſuſtained great injury from the fire of the fort; the capital battery, which was made Difficulties of the ſiege. 29th. 3d July.

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made of wood, took fire, and was conſumed; half the army and three thouſand ſeamen, were ill; the hurricane ſeaſon was rapidly approaching, and a reinforcement of four thouſand men expected from North America, did not arrive. Still no murmur, no relaxation of exertion was obſerved in this army of heroes, and the ſeamen acted in cordial uniſon.

20th. 22d. A lodgment was at length made in the covered way; twelve thouſand men, who attempted to drive their beſiegers from their works, were repulſed;

28th. part of the ſuccours from America arrived;

30th. the mines were ſprung; and the breach in the

The Moro ſtormed. walls being deemed practicable, though difficult, orders were given to ſtorm. This dangerous enterprize was hailed by the Britiſh as a termination of their labours; they mounted with intrepid gallantry, and after a ſhort but warm conteſt, drove the enemy from every part of the ramparts: they then formed with coolneſs and reſolution; the Spaniards fled on all ſides; four hundred were killed and drowned, and as many laid down their arms. The Marquis de Gonzales, who was ſecond in command, fell in making brave but ineffectual efforts to rally the troops. Don Lewis de Velaſco, the governor, to whoſe valour the long defence of the fort was principally due, collected a hundred men in an entrenchment which he formed round the colours, reſolved to defend them to the laſt extremity. He ſaw his little band ſlaughtered or diſperſed, and was himſelf killed by a random ſhot, while offering his ſword to the victors. The humanity which ever attends true courage, ſympathized in this deplorable cataſtrophe of a high ſpirited enemy.

Capture of the town. 2d Aug. THE Moro being thus reduced, and a ſecond diviſion of the troops from America arrived, new works were begun for the attack of the town.

10th. Lord Albemarle ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, but having received a civil though firm refuſal

fuſal, opened his batteries with ſuch effect, that flags of truce ſoon appeared. A capitulation was entered into, by which the Havannah, with a diſtrict of a hundred and eighty miles weſtward, was ceded to the conquerors. The fleet, which alſo fell into the power of England, conſiſted of nine ſhips of the line and four frigates; and the treaſure in ready money, tobacco, and other valuable merchandize belonging to the King of Spain, was eſtimated at three millions ſterling. The garriſon, reduced to ſeven hundred, was allowed the honours of war, and a ſafe conveyance to Spain[r]. 1762.

Expedition againſt the Philippine Iſles.

In another quarter of the globe, the Spaniſh wealth was expoſed to an attack no leſs hazardous and ſucceſsful than that on the Havannah. An expedition was diſpatched from Madras againſt Luconia, the principal of the Philippine Iſles. The land troops conſiſted of two thouſand three hundred men, chiefly Indians, under the command of Brigadier General Draper; the naval force was eleven ſhips from Admiral Corniſh's ſquadron. The troops having effected a landing without loſs, though not without oppoſition, commenced vigorous operations againſt the town; their gallantry made amends for their deficiency in ſtrength, and in ſpite of a violent ſtorm, which threatened deſtruction to the fleet, they completed their batteries, finiſhed a parallel and communication, and eſtabliſhed a place of arms. A ſtrong body of Indians in the ſervice of the garriſon, made a ſally, and fought with incredible ferocity; they were repulſed by the ſteady valour of the beſiegers, and many died, gnawing, like wild beaſts, the bayonets with which they were transfixed. A breach was at length effected, and the garriſon, inſtead of endeavouring to repair the works, awaited the event in ſullen deſpair. No propoſal to capitulate being

24th Sept.

1ſt and 2d October.

4th.

[r] Beatſon's Naval and Military Memoirs. vol. iii. p. 170.

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made, the town was ſtormed, and, for ſome hours, unavoidably expoſed to the licentiouſneſs of the military. The Archbiſhop and Governor, with the magiſtrates, retired into the Citadel, which being in no condition of defence, they were ſoon obliged to ſurrender, and a capitulation was agreed to, by which the town of Manilla and port of Cavite, with ſeveral ſhips, and a large quantity of military ſtores, were ſurrendered to the King, and four millions of dollars covenanted to be paid as a ranſom for the private property in the town. This important conqueſt was achieved with little loſs[z].

1762. 6th Oct. Capture of Manilla.

Capture of the Santiſſima Trinidad.

IN conſequence of information contained in ſome letters, which fell into the hands of the victors, Captains Parker and King, in the Panther, a ſhip of the line, and the Argo frigate, were diſpatched to intercept the galleon Philippina. Inſtead of the expected prize, they captured the Santiſſima Trinidad, Acapulco ſhip, with a cargo valued at three millions of dollars.

30th.

Capture of the Hermione.

THESE important conqueſts, by which the reſources of Spain were effectually deſtroyed in leſs than ten months after the declaration of war, left her in no condition to attempt retrieving the affairs of France. Even the hope of an immediate ſupply of ſpecie was fruſtrated early in the conteſt, by the capture off St. Vincent's, of the Hermione, a regiſter ſloop, bound from Lima to Cadiz; containing treaſure and valuable effects to the amount of a million ſterling.

21ſt May.

Unſucceſsful expedition againſt Buenos Ayres.

THE only attempt againſt Spain which failed, was a joint expedition planned by Great Britain and Portugal to attack the colony of Buenos Ayres. A fleet conſiſting of three frigates, beſide ſmall armed veſſels and ſtore ſhips, ſailed from the Tagus, with five hundred ſoldiers, under the command of Captain Macnamara, and reached the River Plata

30th Aug.

[z] Beatſon's Naval and Military Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 131.

without

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without difficulty; but were aſſailed by a dreadful ſtorm, accompanied by thunder and lightning, and greatly embarraſſed by not knowing the ſoundings. The Spaniards were not only prepared to receive them, but had acted with advantage on the offenſive, by poſſeſſing themſelves of a Portugueſe ſettlement called Nova Colonia, the recovery of which was firſt attempted. An Engliſh pilot, acquainted with the river and coaſt, undertook to carry the commodore's ſhip within piſtol-ſhot of the principal fort. After a vigorous cannonade of four hours, the enemy's batteries were nearly ſilenced, and the Britiſh expected to reap the fruits of their valour, when the commander's ſhip was diſcovered to be on fire: the flames raged with unconquerable violence, and the diſtreſs was augmented by a renewal of the enemy's cannonade: the other veſſels, for their own ſafety, were obliged to keep at too great a diſtance to afford ſuccour: and finally, of three hundred and forty men, only ſeventy-eight eſcaped the flames and the ſea: the commodore was drowned. The veſſels, reduced almoſt to wrecks by the enemy's ſhot, with difficulty reached, the Portugueſe ſettlement at Rio Janeiro. The Spaniards, with characteriſtic gallantry and humanity, ſuccoured and relieved the unfortunate men who were driven on ſhore; forgot their enmity in their misfortune, and treated them rather like brethren than foes.

2d Nov.

1ſt Jan. 1763.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH:

1762—1763.

Birth of the Prince of Wales. — Addreſſes on the occaſion. — Negotiations for peace. —State of the public mind. —Honours conferred on Lord Bute.—Changes in the miniſtry.—Proceedings in the city of London.—Beckford made Lord Mayor.—Progreſs of the treaty of peace.—Preliminaries ſigned.—Examination of the terms.—Objections, and obſervations.—Diſcuſſion of the preliminaries in parliament.—Definitive treaty ſigned.—General pacification.

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1762. Birth of the Prince of Wales.

THERE are periods in the hiſtory of nations, as in the lives of individuals, when, by a concurrence of fortunate events, every deſire ſeems gratified, and no reflection occurs to reſtrain an unbounded hilarity; ſhort and unfrequent are ſuch periods, but ever remembered with delight and recorded with exultation. The birth of the Prince of Wales gave the greateſt ſatisfaction to the inhabitants of the Britiſh metropolis, who juſtly looked up to a perpetuation of the Brunſwick line, as the moſt favourable pledge which Providence could afford, that their religion and liberties would be fixed on an immutable baſis. While the cannon which announced the joyous event yet ſounded, the public were further gratified by the arrival of the treaſure captured in the Hermione, which, in ſtately proceſſion moved before the palace in its progreſs to the tower. The King and principal nobility appeared at the windows of the royal abode, and crowned the raptures of the people by joining heartily in their acclamations.

12th Aug.

City addreſs.

A LOYAL and dutiful addreſs was preſented by the city of London, in which it was not forgotten that

that the auſpicious day of the Prince's birth was ſacred to liberty and theſe kingdoms, in having given the preſent illuſtrious family to the throne. Similar addreſſes were diſpatched from all parts of the kingdom. 1762.

THE glorious ſucceſſes of the war had no power to divert the miniſter's attention from the great object of peace: he was anxious to reſume negotiations, and, for that purpoſe, engaged the King of Sardinia, as a neutral power, to propoſe to the court of France a termination of hoſtilities. Theſe propoſals could not be diſagreeable to the French nation, enfeebled and deſpondent as they were, and convinced, by the experience of a moſt active campaign, that the union with Spain, far from bringing the aſſiſtance and relief they had fondly hoped, was, in fact, a dangerous aſſociation, or at beſt a liſtleſs incumbrance. To prevent the effects which might ariſe from intereſted ſpeculations, the miniſter ſent notice to the Lord Mayor of his intention to open a negotiation for peace. The Duke of Bedford was deputed from England as Miniſter Plenipotentiary, and the Duc de Nivernois from France[a]. The final adjuſtment of the objects of treaty was reſerved to Lord Bute and the Earl of Egremont in England, and M. de Choiſeul in Paris; their medium of communication being through the Comte de Viri, the Sardinian miniſter in London, and the Bailli de Solare, miniſter from the ſame court in France[b]. Negociation for Peace. 30th Aug. 5th Sept. 12th.

[a] The Duc de Nivernois is thus deſcribed by the Chevalier d'Eon, who attended him on this embaſſy: "Ce ſeigneur qui, dans toutes ces ambaſſades, a toujours paru, comme Anacréon, couronné de mirthes & de roſes, & chantant les plaiſirs au ſein de ſes infirmités & des plus pénibles travaux, ſeroit un des plus grands miniſtres de la France, ſi à la bonté, à l'élevation de ſon cœur, à la ſublimité de ſon génie & des ſes talents, il joignoit autant de fermeté que de délicateſſe dans l'eſprit. Le ſeul petit défaut j'aie remarqué dans M. le Duc de Nivernois, eſt la coquetterie de plaire à tout le monde. Coquetterie, qui nous fait ſouvent plus d'ennemis que de vrais amis." See Lettres, Memoires, &c. du Chevalier d'Eon, Diſcours preliminaire, p. 5.

[b] From private information.

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EVERY reaſonable purpoſe which the Britiſh nation could expect to attain by war, was now abundantly gratified: and yet the public was not cordially diſpoſed to hail the return of peace. The conſtant ſucceſſion of conqueſt and victory inſpired exaggerated notions of our martial proweſs, and hopes of extended colonial acquiſition, no leſs abſurd than extravagant. Many perſons in power, and a ſtrong party in oppoſition, could not endure that Lord Bute ſhould enjoy the honour of making a popular peace, and every effort was tried to excite diſguſt againſt the meaſure.

1762. The public averſe to peace.

LORD BUTE ſeemed to riſe in the King's good opinion, and had the diſpoſal of all honours and dignities in the ſtate. Beſides his appointment to the Rangerſhip of Richmond Park, he was inſtalled a Knight of the Garter; an honour which was greatly enhanced by the aſſociation of the Duke of York, Brother to the King, in the ſame ceremony. Yet Lord Bute could not ſucceed in inſpiring perſonal friendſhip; his benefits were received without gratitude, and his omiſſion to gratify every intereſted application produced ſullen diſſatisfaction, or open oppoſition [c].

Honours conferred on Lord Bute.

AFTER the reſignation of the Duke of Newcaſtle, the diſunion of the miniſtry became daily more apparent. The Duke of Devonſhire, during the negotiation for peace, abſented himſelf from the council board, and refuſing to attend when ſum-

Diſmiſſion of the Duke of Devonſhire. 31ſt Oct.

[c] In anſwer to an angry remonſtrance, occaſioned by his having omitted to provide for a dependant of Lord Melcombe, Lord Bute thus expreſſed himſelf: "In ſhort, my Lord, though I cannot prevent umbrage being taken at my not ſatisfying every wiſh, I ſhall certainly hinder any reaſonable ground of complaint concerning things I have once promiſed; I own, and without bluſhing, I have been very unfortunate in the means I have for years taken in cementing friendſhip, and procuring attachments; others, with much leſs trouble, perhaps without my ſincerity, ſucceed better: but I repine not. Conſcious of my own feelings, conſcious of deſerving better treatment, I ſhall go on, though ſingle and alone, to ſerve my King and country, in the beſt manner my poor talents will allow me, happy, too happy, when the heavy burden that I bear ſhall be removed, and placed upon other ſhoulders."

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moned, was diſmiſſed from the office of Lord Chamberlain; and the King, with his own hand, eraſed his name from the liſt of privy counſellors. This diſmiſſion produced the reſignation of Lord George Cavendiſh, Comptroller of the Houſehold, and Lord Beſborough, joint Poſt-Maſter-General. Several noblemen and commoners of diſtinction openly diſclaimed all connection with the miniſter, and an oppoſition was forming, of great extent and influence, headed by the Duke of Cumberland [d]. CHAP. V. 1762. Other reſignations:

THE force of the miniſtry was reſpectable, but not proportioned to this weight of oppoſition. The death of Lord Anſon created a vacancy at the head of the Admiralty, which was filled by Lord Halifax. This nobleman had acquitted himſelf with diſtinguiſhed propriety as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the ſituation of the firſt Lord of the Admiralty was beſtowed as beſt ſuited to his merits and talents; but as he was deſirous to obtain the place of Secretary of State, an exchange was arranged with Mr. Grenville, and Mr. Fox, who ſtill retained the ſituation of Paymaſter of the Forces, and was deſtined to lead the Houſe of Commons. And changes. 6th June. 12th to 16th Oct.

THE mere propoſal of peace on any terms was odious to the city of London. The protection afforded to trade by a ſucceſsful maritime war, prevented their feeling the burthens which oppreſſed the reſt of the nation: the money expended by government gave alacrity to mercantile exertion, and was miſtaken by the intereſted and ſuperficial for an increaſe of beneficial commerce [e]. During the negociation of laſt year, the city had inſtructed their repreſentatives to oppoſe any peace in which the whole, or the greater part, of the conqueſts made by Great Britain ſhould not be retained. The arrogance of one city thus Conduct of the city of London.

[d] See Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 94.

[e] The Political Conduct of the Earl of Chatham, p. 22.

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presuming to lay down a rule of war and peace for the whole nation, is not less remarkable than the wildness and absurdity of the terms they attempted to dictate[f]. If such were the sentiments of the city during the last negociation, the brilliant transactions of the present campaign did not induce them to moderate their pretensions, or assume a more humble tone. The capture of the Havannah produced the most absurd expectations; and while they attributed all the success of the war to Mr. Pitt, they considered the proposal of peace as a base dereliction of his plan, and a sacrifice of national honour to the safety of the minister, or, as he was invidiously termed, the favourite.

Beckford made Lord Mayor.

Mr. PITT was not unmindful of these appearances; he saw that, by securing a strong party in the city, he should best be able to make a separate opposition, and harass the ministry. The appointment of the new Lord Mayor appearing an object of importance, Alderman Beckford was fixed on for the office[g]: he was a native of Jamaica, of a haughty and turbulent disposition; but he was respected for the independence of his character, and the incorruptibility resulting from unlimited wealth, and he was popular from his devoted adherence to Mr. Pitt. On the day before his appointment, he attended the Common Council, requesting to resign his gown; but the court postponed the consideration of his demand, and elected him Mayor.

28th Sept.

TILL the meeting of Parliament no effectual opposition could be made, but innumerable pamphlets, and every other species of publication, conceived

[f] Their instructions on this head are in these words: "That you entertain just sentiments of the importance of the conquests made this war by the British arms, at the expence of much blood and treasure; and that you will to the utmost of your power and abilities, oppose all attempts for giving up such places as may tend to lessen our present security, or by restoring the naval power of France, render us subject to fresh hostilities from that natural enemy; particularly, that the sole and exclusive right of our acquisitions in North America and the fisheries be preserved to us." Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 86.

[g] See Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 93.

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in the moſt malignant ſpirit of virulence, and containing the moſt atrocious and even treaſonable ſuggeſtions, were profuſely circulated.

Progreſs of the treaty for Peace.

THE negotiation was proceeding at this time with a rapidity and harmony which promiſed ultimate ſucceſs. By prudently diſmiſſing from conſideration all matters relating to Germany, which did not immediately affect the intereſts of the contracting powers, much of the jealouſy prevalent during the late treaty was diſpelled, and the progreſs of accommodation facilitated. The greateſt obſtacle to its completion aroſe from the triumphs of the Britiſh arms, which inflamed the pride and cupidity of the people, and, by making the ſituation of the enemy appear more deſperate, encouraged them to inſiſt on retaining more than juſtice or ſound policy required. The miniſtry were by theſe means reduced to an aukward dilemma: if they pretended to retain their recent acquiſitions, they could not hope for a peace, but merely for an inſincere and ſullen truce; if they gave them up, not only the efforts of the preceding adminiſtration, but their own exertions and the expences of the current year, would be alleged as a crime.

3d Nov. Preliminaries ſigned.

PRELIMINARY Articles were at length ſigned. In the examination of theſe it would be eaſy to prove, from the courſe of ſucceeding events, that the Britiſh miniſtry retained too great a portion of their conqueſts; but it is moſt candid to ſurvey the tranſaction as it muſt have appeared at the time, and to judge of the peace-makers by the actual knowledge they might poſſeſs, and on which they could ſafely and conſiſtently act, without abandoning themſelves to ſpeculation, and purſuing meaſures of contingent and remote advantage. It may, however, be proper to premiſe, that independently of the common motives of humanity, which ought never to loſe their influence in the affairs

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affairs of nations; independently of fiſcal conſiderations, which weighed with great force at that period; the want of men began to be ſeverely felt. The ſtate of Europe prevented the engaging of foreign mercenaries in the ſeparate cauſe of Britain; and the numerous expeditions in which the military and naval force of the country was diffuſed, exhauſted the ſtrength of the nation. The bounties to recruits were grown to an unexampled height, and it was ſuppoſed that neither intereſt nor compulſion could have procured men for another extenſive expedition. The unhealthy ſituations in which the ſoldiers and ſailors were placed by the progreſs of hoſtile operations, demanded continual ſupplies; every freſh conqueſt increaſed the evil, and far from producing means to defray, augmented the expences of the war, and proved diſadvantageous and burthenſome. To retain too great a portion of theſe conqueſts would have perpetuated the evil, and finiſhed in peace the depopulation begun by war.

Examination of the reſtitutions. In Europe.

IN Europe there was not much to arrange [h]. Minorca was reſtored, together with all countries belonging to the Elector of Hanover, the Landgrave of Heſſe, the Duke of Brunſwick, and the Count de la Lippe. Cleves, Weſel, Gueldres, and all the territories belonging to the King of Pruſſia, were to be evacuated, and the forifications of Dunkirk demoliſhed. The troops of France and Spain were to retire from all places which they occupied in Europe belonging to the King of Portugal. Great Britain agreed to reſtore Belleiſle [i].

SEVERAL objections were urged againſt this arrangement. It was alledged that Belleiſle was more than equivalent to Minorca; but the fulleſt

[h] This examination of reſtitutions is founded on the articles of the definitive treaty.

[i] See Definitive Treaty, articles 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21.

anſwer

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anſwer to this was given in the former negotiation, when the French miniſter ſaid, "Keep Belleiſle "then, and we will retain Minorca[k]." Some objections were taken to the dereliction of the King of Pruſſia's intereſts; but no complaint could be more deſtitute of foundation. The reduction of his opponents, and the auſpicious events of the campaign had rendered him an object of terror rather than pity, and the balance of power was now endangered by his preponderance, much more than by any efforts towards his political annihilation. Applying to Pruſſia the obſervation made by Mr. Pitt in the debate on the ſupply to Portugal, the miniſter might have ſaid, "We did not "mean to bear Pruſſia on our ſhoulders, but only "to ſet him on his legs, and put a ſword in his "hand[l]." This was now effectually performed, and if, as Lord Bute was afterwards reported to have ſuggeſted, the countries evacuated were to be *ſcrambled* for, no power but Pruſſia could derive advantage from the *ſcramble*[m].

In Aſia. IN Aſia the enemy had little to relinquiſh; it remained therefore only to fix on ſuch ceſſions as might effectually eſtabliſh the peace and ſecurity of India. Great Britain ſtipulated to reſtore the factories which France poſſeſſed on the coaſt of Coromandel, Orixa, and Malabar, and in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749; and the French King renounced all pretenſions to conqueſts made ſince that period. He further agreed to give up Nattal and Tapanoully in the Iſland of Sumatra, and to acknowledge Mahommed Ali Khan, Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabat Sing lawful Subah of the Decan. As Luconia was not expreſsly mentioned in the treaty, it was underſtood to be relinquiſhed[n].

[k] See Hiſtorical Memoir of the court of France, No. xxii.
[l] See Debret's Debates, vol. iv. p. 94.
[m] Life of Lord Chatham, vol. i. p. 401, *n*.
[n] See Definitive Treaty, articles 11 and 23.

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If the ſcale of compenſation alone ſhould be conſidered, the enemy had much the advantage in this part of the treaty; but if that principle had been rigidly adhered to, no treaty could have taken place; on the contrary, they muſt in general have received ſuch terms as Great Britain choſe to impoſe: but if the real welfare and proſperity of the Britiſh Empire alone was in contemplation, that was abundantly and ſagaciouſly provided for. The aſſumption of the intire power and commerce of India was not yet within the reach of Great Britain: to maintain the poſſeſſions ſhe held before the war, with the influence which ſucceſs enabled her to aſſume over the native powers, was all that could reaſonably be demanded; and this was amply ſecured.

In Africa.

AFRICA preſented few objects of contention, and theſe were amicably and eaſily adjuſted: Great Britain, in purſuance of the propoſal made by France in the negotiation of laſt year[o], retained the factories and rivers of Senegal, and gave up Goree[p].

ON this ſubject it has been remarked, that Lord Bute ceded more than Mr. Pitt would have agreed to; and that Goree ought to have been retained, ſince France had declared that the one was eſſentially connected with the other. But in fact neither of them was very deſirable, except as a ſource of commerce. Of the African trade Great Britain had ſufficient; and by the poſſeſſion of Senegal, was enabled ſo to impede the effectual proſecution of it by the French, that from Goree and all their other territories in Africa, they did not afterward obtain annually more than three or four hundred ſlaves[q].

In America.

AMERICA, the primary cauſe of the war, and the great ſcene of conqueſt, afforded the moſt

[o] See the Hiſtorical Memorial of France, No. xvii.
[p] See Definitive Treaty, article 10.
[q] Raynal's Hiſtory of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, vol. v. p. 229.

ample grounds of ceſſion, reſtitution, and diſcuſ- CHAP. V.
ſion. Theſe objects may be divided into three heads: the Continent, the Weſt India Iſlands, and the fiſheries. 1762.

ON the continent, France, after unequivocally reſigning all pretenſions to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, ceded and guarantied to Great Britain, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, together with Cape Breton, and all other iſlands in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, reſerving to the Roman Catholics the right of exerciſing their religion and leave to quit the country within a limited time. The boundaries were ſo clearly and expreſsly defined, as to prevent the poſſibility of diſpute, and ſo advantageouſly, that much of the territory of Louiſiana, in which France had hitherto maintained a diſputed poſſeſſion, was relinquiſhed without reſerve. Spain yielded Florida, and all other poſſeſſions on the continent of North America to the eaſt or to the ſouth-eaſt of the river Miſſiſippi[t], and thus the Britiſh empire was conſolidated in this quarter of the globe.

FRANCE and Spain received compenſation for theſe ceſſions in the Weſt India Iſlands, where Great Britain reſtored Guadaloupe, Marie-Galante, Deſirade, Martinique, and St. Lucie; retaining Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, and Tobago. To Spain, Great Britain ceded all the territory conquered in the Iſland of Cuba, with the fortreſs of the Havannah, and all other fortreſſes in the Iſland[u].

AGAINST theſe articles many objections were raiſed: It was alledged that, although the ceſſions on the continent were ample and honourable, yet the benefits to be derived from them were remote

[t] See Definitive Treaty, articles 4, 7, 20.
[u] Idem, articles 8, 9, 19.

and

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and contingent, the commerce ſcanty, and the return diſtant; that as an indemnity for the expences of the war, Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucie, or ſome other important iſland, ſhould have been preſerved, which would have opened a valuable and important ſource of commerce, and contributed, by a rapid circulation, to give energy to trade and vigour to induſtry. It was aſſerted, that by permitting France to reſume theſe poſſeſſions, we afforded her means of ſpeedily repairing all the loſſes occaſioned by the war, and of reſtoring her trade and marine in all their former ſplendour. Theſe arguments are, in part, true; but the application of them erroneous: if generally adopted, they would reduce war between nations to mere piracy; the pretence that what had been acquired would be advantageous either to the conqueror or the enemy, could never be wanting; peace could only be hoped from unconditional ſubmiſſion, and war muſt ever be continued to extermination. It is even doubtful whether permanent advantages would accrue to Great Britain from the poſſeſſion of theſe colonies: thoſe which were retained languiſhed for want of cultivation, and became the cauſes of litigation between the ſovereign and the ſubject, rather than productive of immediate benefit to the country[t]. The ſyſtem purſued by ſome merchants and proprietors of land, ſince the capture of Guadaloupe, influenced them clamouroufly to demand the retention of that colony: they had overſtocked the market with goods, ſold them at a long credit, and made the iſland, in other reſpects, an exception to the rule of Weſt India commerce; they had, in fact, ſo much improved the reſources of the colony, that it might perhaps have been advantageous to Great Britain to have

[t] See Bryan Edward's Hiſtory of the Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies, book iii. c. 2 and 3.

maintained the poſſeſſion [u]. But the caſe was far different with Martinique: the contraband trade with the Spaniſh coaſts was almoſt entirely loſt. The ceſſion of Louiſiana and Canada had precluded all hopes of again opening a communication; and the value of the reſtitution was diminiſhed by the loſs of the produce of the Grenades, St. Vincent's, and Dominica, which was formerly brought into their harbours [x]. St. Lucie might poſſibly have produced more advantage; but that was the only neutral iſland poſſeſſed by France, and policy appeared to dictate that the taſk of keeping the Caribbs in ſubjection, ſhould in part devolve on them. CHAP. V. 1762.

WITH reſpect to the fiſhery; the French were permitted to catch and dry fiſh on part of the coaſt of Newfoundland, and to fiſh in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition of not approaching within three leagues of the ſhore; on the other coaſt of the Iſland of Cape Breton, they were ſuffered to fiſh at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from the ſhore; and the fiſhery on the coaſt of Nova Scotia and Acadia, was left on the ſame footing as in other treaties. The iſles of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded to France, but expreſsly to ſerve as a ſhelter to fiſhermen; they covenanting to erect no new buildings, except for the convenience of fiſhery; and to keep on them a guard of fifty men only, for the police. The King of Spain waved all pretenſions to any right exiſting in himſelf or the Guipuſcoans, or any other of his ſubjects, to fiſh in the neighbourhood of Nowfoundland [y].

IN objecting to theſe particulars of the treaty, it was aſſumed as a principle that this country ought to monopolize all the fiſheries, for the purpoſe of preventing France from ever re-eſtabliſhing her naval

[u] See Raynal's Hiſtory of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, vol. vi. p. 104.
[x] Idem, p. 86.
[y] See Definitive Treaty, articles 5, 6, 18.

power,

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power, and of augmenting our own. The want of juſtice in ſuch an objection is eaſily perceptible, and its want of true policy is no leſs certain. The fair end of peace is ſecurity and ſocial intercourſe: but it is too much to preſume that thoſe objects are only attainable by crippling and plundering thoſe with whom we treat: peace is more endangered by the indignant feelings of another nation, excited by ſevere terms, and by a jealouſy of diſproportionate aggrandizement, than by the hope which can be entertained of making war with advantage, when the ſtrength of both parties is nearly equal. The conceſſions in regard to the fiſheries had no tendency to increaſe the naval power of France in any formidable degree: an eſtabliſhment where fifty ſoldiers are ſufficient for the police, and where the rival nation is reſtrained from fiſhing within nine or forty-five miles of the ſhore, can occaſion no well grounded alarm, or prudent jealouſy.

THE diſputes with Spain reſpecting prizes, were referred to the Britiſh court of admiralty; and it was agreed that the fortifications erected in the Bay of Honduras ſhould be demoliſhed; the King of Spain conſenting that the Britiſh ſubjects, or their workmen ſhould not be moleſted in loading, cutting, and carrying away logwood, but might build and occupy, without interruption, the houſes and magazines neceſſary for them, their families, and effects[z].

SUCH were the terms of peace procured by the conqueſts of Great Britain. If the people were ever induced to expect a complete indemnification for the expences of the war, or any conſiderable diminution of their burthens from the terms of a treaty, they who deceived them were alone reſponſible for the effects of the deluſion. War ſhould never be protracted a day beyond the period which offers a ſecure

[z] See Definitive Treaty, articles 16, 17.

and

and honourable peace; for conqueſt can no more reſtore the funds diſſipated by war, than peace can give life to thoſe who have fallen victims in the conteſt. CHAP. V. 1762.

THE peace of 1762 was wiſe and juſt, becauſe it ſo clearly aſcertained points in diſpute, as to leave no ground for future litigation; becauſe it deſtroyed every pretence for charging the Britiſh nation with rapacity, and an overbearing ſpirit; and becauſe the moderation of the terms tended to obviate every ungracious ſentiment which long and ſucceſsful war might have generated in the boſoms of our opponents. With all the advantages gained by Great Britain, more extenſive ceſſions might, doubtleſs, have been obtained from France and Spain; but in every view of the ſubject, the conditions ſeem to have been judiciouſly and prudently arranged, and the termination of the conteſt was no leſs advantageous than honourable to Great Britain[a].

25th Nov. Meeting of Parliament.

WHEN parliament aſſembled, the King, in his ſpeech, adverted to the circumſtances of the war during the laſt year, and ſpoke with becoming animation in praiſe of the glorious achievements of his forces by ſea and land. He bore honourable teſtimony to the unwearied perſeverance and unparalleled bravery of the officers and privates in the military, as well as naval ſervice; and ſaid, that next to the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, it was owing to their conduct and courage that the enemy had been brought to accept of terms, which, he hoped, would give entire ſatisfaction. His Majeſty concluded by obſerving, that as we could never have carried on this extenſive war without the greateſt union at home; the ſame union would be neceſſary, in order to make the beſt uſe of the advantages acquired at the peace, and lay the foundation of that economy,

[a] For ſome judicious obſervations on this peace, ſee Chalmers's Eſtimate, p. 141, to 143, Edit. 1804.

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1762.

which could alone relieve the nation from the heavy burthens brought on by a long and expenſive conteſt.

29th. Preliminaries of peace diſcuſſed.

9th Dec.

THE preliminaries of peace were laid before both houſes; but the oppoſition was not proportioned, either in ability or numbers, to the expectation which had been raiſed. In the Houſe of Peers, on the motion for an addreſs, many objections were made, and ſome ſevere reflections thrown out againſt the Earl of Bute, with appearances of heat and animoſity. That nobleman defended his own conduct with temper and decorum, in a well-connected ſpeech, delivered with great propriety, to the ſurprize of many, who did not think him ſo well qualified in the art and faculty of elocution. He gave a detail of the negotiation, and not only avowed himſelf a warm promoter of the peace, but even expreſſed a deſire that his having contributed to the ceſſation of hoſtilities ſhould be engraved on his tomb. He was ſeconded by the Earl of Halifax, and ſupported by a great majority [b].

9th Dec.

IN the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Fox principally defended the peace; and Mr. Pitt, though in a ſtate of extreme pain and weakneſs from the gout, attended to lay before Parliament his objections to the preliminaries. His ſpeech laſted three hours and forty minutes; it embraced every topic of objection, and was expreſſed in glowing language. He declared, although he was at that inſtant ſuffering under the moſt excruciating torture, yet he determined, at the hazard of his life, to attend this day, to raiſe up his voice, his hand,

[b] Smollett's Complete Hiſtory of England, vol. xvi. p. 161. No traces of this debate are preſerved in Debrett's Collection. Lord Bute did not often ſpeak in parliament: his delivery was very ſlow and ſolemn: in alluſion to which Charles Townſend, during a ſpeech which Lord Bute made on the ſubject of the cyder tax, humorouſly exclaimed, "*minute guns.*"

and

and his arm, againſt the preliminary articles of a treaty, which obſcured all the glories of the war, ſurrendered the deareſt intereſts of the nation, and ſacrificed the public faith, by abandoning our allies. He firſt challenged the miniſtry to compare the preſent treaty with the terms he could have obtained from Buſſy; but that producing no reply, he proceeded to analyze every part of the ſtipulations, which he ſtigmatiſed, in general, with unqualified cenſure. The only particulars which met his approbation were the dereliction of North America by the French, and the reſtitution of Minorca. He expatiated at great length on the German connexion; and affirmed that the deſertion of the King of Pruſſia, the moſt magnanimous ally this country ever had, was inſidious, tricking, baſe, and treacherous. In concluſion, he ſaid the terms of the propoſed treaty met his moſt hearty diſapprobation; he ſaw in them the ſeeds of a future war. The peace was inſecure, becauſe it reſtored the enemy to her former greatneſs: the peace was inadequate, becauſe the places retained were no equivalent for thoſe ſurrendered.

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THESE obſervations made great impreſſion, and were productive of more general effect from the circumſtances under which they were delivered. Mr. Pitt was ſo feeble at the beginning of his harangue that he was ſupported by two of his friends; during its progreſs his pain increaſing, he was allowed the unprecedented indulgence of delivering his ſentiments ſitting[c]: toward the concluſion his ſtrength entirely failed, his voice became indiſtinct, and he was obliged to omit the remarks which he was prepared to make on the articles relating to Spain.

[c] See Hatſell's Precedents, vol. ii. p. 101.

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THE arguments of Mr. Pitt were combated by general conſiderations of policy, and diſcuſſions of the value of the ceded conqueſts; which, it was truly affirmed, was greatly diminiſhed by the privation of thoſe retained. On a diviſion, the motion for the addreſs was carried by a great majority [d].

No other buſineſs of importance was brought before Parliament till after the receſs.

21ſt. Definitive treaty ſigned. 1ſt Dec. 7th 10th Feb. 1763.

IN conſequence of the execution of the preliminaries, a ceſſation of arms had been proclaimed, and paſſports were iſſued for merchants deſiring to trade to any part of France. The definitive treaty was, in due time, ratified, and peace eſtabliſhed [e].

The other powers make peace.

WHEN the belligerent powers on the continent ſaw Great Britain and France ſeriouſly diſpoſed to effect a pacification, they became convinced of the propriety of deſiſting from further operations. A propoſal of the Imperial Court for a congreſs was readily acceded to by the King of Pruſſia. 31ſt Dec. 1762. It was held at Hubertſburg; and, after ſome previous diſcuſſions, a treaty was arranged between Auſtria, Pruſſia, Saxony, and Poland, which re-

[d] 319 to 65.

[e] Much of the oppoſition which this treaty encountered in Parliament, was the mere reſult of party ſpirit; as I am informed from indubitable authority, that ſeveral eminent ſtateſmen were known to expreſs high approbation of it in private, although they decried it in public. The terms were, on the whole, more judicious, and really more advantageous, than thoſe which, in the preceding year, were demanded by Mr. Pitt. The opinion of an individual, however eminent, cannot decide ſuch an extenſive queſtion; but the following anecdote, related by Wood, in his Preface to the Eſſay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer, is deſerving of attention. "Being directed to wait on Lord Grenville," he ſays, "a few "days before he died, with the preliminary articles of the Treaty of Paris, "I found him ſo languid, that I propoſed poſtponing my buſineſs for another "time; but he inſiſted that I ſhould ſtay, ſaying, it could not prolong "his life to neglect his duty. He then deſired to hear the treaty read, to "which he liſtened with great attention, and recovered ſpirits enough to "declare the approbation of a dying ſtateſman, (I uſe his own words,) on "the moſt glorious war, and the moſt honourable peace, this nation ever "ſaw."

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ſtored the peace of Europe. By this compact, few points of great importance were regulated, and no extenſion of territory was acquired by any of the contracting parties [f].

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1762. 15th Feb. 1763.

[f] Œuvres du Roi de Pruſſe, vol. iv. p. 139, 149.

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CHAPTER THE SIXTH:

1763.

Formation of oppoſition.—Proceedings in Parliament.—Cyder tax.—Petitions of the city of London—and other places.—Relief granted to the Americans.—Reſignation of Lord Bute.—His character.—Virulence of political publications.—The North Briton.—General warrants iſſued.—Mr. Wilkes arreſted and committed to the Tower.—Proceedings thereon.—He is diſcharged—and deprived of his commiſſion.—Lord Temple diſmiſſed.—Mr. Wilkes's intemperate proceedings.—Death of Lord Egremont.—Negotiation with Mr. Pitt.—Duke of Bedford's miniſtry.—Mr. Wilkes publiſhes ſundry libels—and goes to France.

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1763. Formation of oppoſition.

THE inefficient oppoſition made to the addreſſes on peace, ſhewed plainly that, without general concord, the various parties diſpoſed to thwart the meaſures of government would be fruſtrated in every attempt. Some ſtill entertaining hopes of regaining a ſhare of power by not diſplaying an open oppoſition to the miniſters, when the debate was expected, feigned ſickneſs, quitted the metropolis, or abſented themſelves from the houſe without aſſigning a reaſon[a]. It was therefore neceſſary to unite all the diſcordant members of the minority by a general coalition, if they hoped to make an effectual attack on the power of Lord Bute. The effect of the objections to the peace promiſed no inconſiderable ſucceſs: the counties of York and Surry refuſed to preſent addreſſes; and it was ſaid that thoſe which were ſent from all quarters of the kingdom were

[a] Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 83.

not

not procured without much addreſs and great difficulty [b]. CHAP. VI. 1763.

THE coalition was conſolidated at the houſe of the Duke of Newcaſtle [c]; and their reſiſtance of every effort to divide them, convinced the miniſter that their union would, in time, be fatal to his aſcendancy. March.

PARLIAMENT had reſumed its ſittings before this coalition was formed; but no buſineſs of importance claimed their attention, till the ſupplies for the current year were ſubmitted to the Houſe of Commons. The ſum to be raiſed by loan was three millions and a half. In this moderate financial exertion the miniſtry were expoſed to virulent cenſure. It was alleged that they privately diſpoſed of the loan, which in a few days roſe to eleven per cent. premium; and thus, at the expence of the public, gratified their own creatures with benefits to the amount of three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds [d]. General objections, however, would have produced little effect beyond the paſſing moment, had not a more ſpecious object of attack preſented itſelf in one of the modes of ſupply: this was the act for impoſing a tax on perry and cyder. 20th Jan. Meeting of Parliament. 8th Mar.

THE miniſter at firſt intended to lay a duty of ten ſhillings per hogſhead, on the liquor ſold by retail, confining the tax to the victualler: the next project was to lay the ſame aſſeſſment on the firſt buyer [e]. Neither of theſe propoſals was agree- Cyder tax.

[b] The city of London preſented a tardy and reluctant addreſs (May 12th), but the Lord Mayor did not attend with it at St. James's, and the bells of ſeveral parishes were muffled during the proceſſion.

[c] The party is ſtated to have conſiſted of the following perſons: the Dukes of Devonſhire, Bolton, and Portland; Marquis of Rockingham; Earls Temple, Cornwallis, Albemarle, Aſhburnham, Hardwicke, and Effingham; Lords Spencer, Sondes, Grantham, and Villiers; Mr. Pitt, Mr. J. Grenville, and Sir George Savile. Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 89, 93.

[d] See Mr. Legge's ſpeeches in the Debates, North Briton. Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 107.

[e] Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 131.

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able to the country gentlemen, and therefore the mode was altered to an impoſition of four ſhillings per hogſhead on the grower; and the regulations of the exciſe were extended to the collection of this duty.

Objections.

AGAINST this ſyſtem it was not difficult to raiſe a loud and diffuſive clamour. The ſame arguments and efforts which in 1733 had nearly driven Walpole from the helm, could not fail of being again employed. In the Houſe of Commons Mr. Pitt, as the leader of oppoſition, detailed the accuſtomed topics, inveighed againſt the admiſſion of exciſe officers into private dwellings, and adverting to the excellent maxim that every man's houſe is his caſtle, deprecated the extenſion of exciſe laws to individuals, who, by their birth, education, and profeſſions, were entirely diſtinct from the trader.

28th and 30th Mar.

A petition was preſented from the city of London, but without effect [f] and the bill finally paſſed. In the Lords it met with equal oppoſition; forty-nine peers divided againſt it, and two proteſts, each ſigned by three peers, were entered on the journals. Theſe proteſts were couched in ſtrong terms; and the tranſaction is rendered more remarkable from the unprecedented fact, that the Houſe of Lords divided on a money bill.

IT was a capital error in Lord Bute's adminiſtration, to perſevere in a meaſure which gave ſo much diſſatisfaction, and afforded eaſy means of extending the influence of oppoſition. Not the city of London alone, but thoſe of Exeter and Worceſter, the counties of Devon and Hereford, and ſeveral other towns and places, inſtructed their repreſentatives to reſiſt the tax; ſent letters of thanks to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in oppoſition; formed aſſociations, and even entered into

[f] Not only to the Commons, but to the Lords, and the Throne.

combinations,

combinations, to let their apples rot under the trees, rather than make them into cyder, ſubject to ſuch impoſitions. In a word, no public meaſure ſince the exciſe act propoſed by Sir Robert Walpole, had occaſioned ſo great a ferment in the nation. Prudence ſhould have dictated to Lord Bute an imitation of Walpole; he ſaw he could neither ſtem the popular torrent, nor mitigate its fury, and ſhould have withdrawn himſelf from its effects, by renouncing the obnoxious meaſure [g].

Obſervations.

BESIDES the determined efforts of a preconcerted oppoſition, and the general invectives againſt the extenſion of the exciſe laws, many ſpecious reaſonings were adduced againſt the cyder tax. It was ſaid to be enormous in amount, and unequal in application. It was computed to equal the rent of the land from which it aroſe; and the occupier being obliged to pay the whole ſum within ſix weeks from the time of making the cyder, remained expoſed, without allowance or drawback, to all the loſs ariſing from thoſe accidents to which ſo hazardous a commodity is ſubject. To prove the inequality of the tax, it was alleged that all the different ſorts of cyder were ſubject to the ſame impoſition: of theſe there were computed to be four; the worſt of which was made from the windfalls, and could only be ſerviceable for family conſumption; this, and the other three ſorts, varying in value from eight to fifty ſhillings a hogſhead, were taxed alike, by which means the common drink of the day-labourer was ſubject to as heavy a charge as the luxurious beverage of men of ample fortunes. The aſſertion that it is impoſſible to diſcriminate the claſſes of cyder, ſo as to impoſe a proportionate duty, was decried as diſplaying more ſtrongly the impolicy of the tax [h].

[g] See Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 41.

[h] See caſe of the county of Devon, publiſhed by the direction of the committee.

IN

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In this ſeſſion, in conſequence of a meſſage from the King, the Houſe of Commons voted a compenſation to the ſubjects of North America, for expences incurred during the war, in levying, clothing, and paying troops raiſed by the reſpective provinces[1]. The public buſineſs being early diſpatched, parliament was prorogued.

14th Mar. Relief to the Americans.

19th April. Prorogation.

Change of miniſtry.

Soon after the paſſing of the cyder tax, when Lord Bute's friends and enemies conſidered him ſo permanently fixed in office that the long labours of a well-united oppoſition would be requiſite for his expulſion, he aſtoniſhed the public by a ſudden reſignation. Sir Francis Daſhwood followed his example. Mr. Grenville ſucceeded them both as firſt lord of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; and notice was given to the foreign miniſters, that His Majeſty had conſided the executive powers of government to Mr. Grenville, Lord Halifax, and Lord Egremont. A place in the cabinet was offered to Mr. Pitt, but he inſiſted on ſuch extravagant terms, that the King could not in honour comply: he demanded the removal of every perſon who had in any manner been engaged in making the peace: and even required that the terms of the treaty ſhould be meliorated. The King anſwered, he would never withdraw his protection from thoſe whoſe conduct he approved, or reprobate meaſures which he had ſanctioned with his approbation[k].

8th April.

Obſervations on Lord Bute's reſignation.

The ſudden termination of Lord Bute's miniſterial career, and his dereliction of that power which it was thought his chief aim to acquire and his principal labour to extend, gave riſe to various contradictory ſpeculations. By ſome it was attributed to fear of impeachment, augmented by the proſpect of the Duke of Bedford's return from Paris,

[1] By an act paſſed this ſeſſion, John Harriſon received a reward of 5,000l. for his ingenious labours towards the diſcovery of the longitude.

[k] From private information.

JOHN EARL of BUTE

and the expectations of ſome important diſclo- CHAP. VI. 1763.
ſures[l]. Some weakly imagined that the perſevering attacks of the North Briton drove him from the helm[m]; and others believed that he ſtill retained his power, though he did not openly appear to exerciſe it. The reaſons aſſigned by a writer, who probably did not make his ſtatement without the privity of Lord Bute, are theſe: "His reſignation is in conſequence of a reſolution early "taken, and invariably adhered to by this extraordinary perſon; who, ſeeing the nation involved "in a conſuming war, which, for various reaſons, "no miniſter but himſelf would put an end to, "thought himſelf called upon, not only as the "friend of his ſovereign, but as the friend of his "country, to undertake the difficult and dangerous "taſk of making peace: this he happily accompliſhed, and made a peace which ſpeaks for "itſelf. In the proſecution of this great work "his life has been often threatened, and ſometimes "in danger from an exaſperated multitude[n]: "his character has been attacked with a virulence, "till now unknown: his relations, his friends, "the place of his nativity, have been reviled, and "every poſſible method taken to diſcredit him "with the public, and to ruin him with the King "his maſter. This ſtorm he endured: and perſevered with inconceivable conſtancy, till the "peace was ratified, and approved by parliament, "and the buſineſs of the ſeſſion brought to a "concluſion; then he reſigned, leaving the new "miniſtry, ſupported by a great majority in both

[l] Life of Lord Chatham, vol. i. p. 425.
[m] Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 127.
[n] This aſſertion was verified in two remarkable inſtances: the firſt as he was going to the Lord Mayor's entertainment at Guildhall, when he was attacked by the populace, his carriage broke, and himſelf very narrowly eſcaped the ſtroke of a club; the other, as he was going to the parliament houſe, when the civil power preſerved him.—Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 127.

"houſes,

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" houſes, and not obſtructed by thoſe prejudices " which had been ſo induſtriouſly raiſed up againſt " him. This opinion of his having early taken a re- " ſolution to retire, is confirmed by the mildneſs " of his adminiſtration, and his total neglect of the " libels againſt him. He has accordingly retired " without place or penſion, diſdaining to touch thoſe " tempting ſpoils which lay at his feet[o]."

THERE is too great an appearance of precipitation in Lord Bute's retreat, to ſanction theſe ſuppoſitions; even the King was not early apprized of his intention, and from his good opinion of the Earl, lamented that he had loſt a friend as well as a miniſter[p]. It is abſurd to ſuppoſe that fear of impeachment induced him to reſign. Fear is a ſtrange motive to aſſign for yielding up that which conſtitutes ſtrength, eſpecially when no meaſures were taken to make that ſacrifice a bribe for forbearance. The terms of peace have already been ſo amply diſcuſſed, that it is unneceſſary again to enter into their merits. Another charge, however, was brought againſt the miniſter, — that of having received a large ſum of money from France[q]. After having for ſome years amuſed the public, and ſerved as a theme to thoſe declaimers who are always ready to repeat the groſſeſt fables, if of a ſlanderous tendency, this allegation met its death in the houſe of commons: It was brought forward by

[o] Letter from a Gentleman in Town to his Friend in the Country, occaſioned by a late Reſignation.

[p] From private information.

[q] In ſupport of this unfounded allegation, the public attention was often invidiouſly directed to Lord Bute's extenſive buildings at Luton, and in Berkeley Square. Such magnificent undertakings proved his diſregard of money, but they were not too great for his ample fortune. By his marriage with Mary, daughter of Edward Wortley Montague, he acquired an eſtate of 25,000l. a year, beſides 450,000l. in the funds. Far from ſupplying his expences by means of the public money, he raiſed 90,000l. by mortgage, and lived long enough to redeem the eſtate by frugality. — From private information.

Dr.

Dr. Muſgrave, who, in a long examination, betrayed ſo large a portion of credulity, with ſo ſmall a ſhare of judgment, that the Houſe, after a minute inveſtigation, voted his information in the higheſt degree frivolous, and unworthy of credit[r]. CHAP. VI. 1763.

It is improbable that Lord Bute, who had patiently endured the moſt virulent invectives, ſhould be driven from the helm by ſo vapid a production as the North Briton. Burke properly characterized this weak and malicious ſeries of libels, by calling it a milk and water paper, as much inferior to Junius in rancour and venom, as in ſtrength, wit, and judgment[s].

In fact, the principal cauſe of his reſignation was the want of ſupport in the cabinet. In a private letter to one of his friends, before he retired from the helm, he more fully explained the real motives of his conduct: "Single," he ſaid, "in "a cabinet of my own forming; no aid in the "Houſe of Lords to ſupport me, except two peers "(Lords Denbigh and Pomfret); both the Secre-"taries of State ſilent, and the Lord Chief Juſtice, "whom I myſelf brought into office, voting for "me, yet ſpeaking againſt me; the ground I tread "upon is ſo hollow, that I am afraid, not only of "falling myſelf, but of involving my Royal "Maſter in my ruin.—It is time for me to "retire[t]!"

The continuance of the ex-miniſter's ſecret influence in the cloſet, for a conſiderable period, has been ſo repeatedly and confidently aſſerted, that to doubt it would ſeem raſhneſs; yet, perhaps, if we except the negotiations for miniſterial changes ſoon after his reſignation, in which he was occaſionally the medium to communicate the King's

[r] See Debates, January 29th, 1770.
[s] See Debates, 27th November, 1770.
[t] From private information

intentions,

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intentions, no report was ever leſs conſonant to truth; for it was his conſtant and repeated complaint to his intimate friends, both on his travels and at home, that he was neglected by his ſovereign. This avowal, from a man ſo cautious as Lord Bute, outweighs all the vague aſſertions of thoſe who maintained the exiſtence of a myſterious agency, and proves that the loſs of his influence had ſunk deep in his mind [u].

Lord Bute's ſhort adminiſtration was rendered additionally unpleaſant by his own errors. His undertaking to make peace when the nation was eager for continuing the war, and his offending all thoſe who, by popularity or family connexion, were enabled to co-operate effectually in his views, were raſh, though laudable, exertions: and his danger was augmented by his negligence of public applauſe, and ignorance of the means by which it might be acquired. He was adviſed to contemn the clamours of the city, for on the leaſt threat of the King's diſpleaſure, thoſe who were then at his throat, would ſoon be at his feet [x]; and though he neither eſteemed nor reſpected the man who gave this counſel, the tenor of it ſeems agreeable to his mode of thinking; the conſequence was, that the city connected with the admiration of Mr. Pitt a factious and overbearing ſpirit of reſiſtance to the exertions of government. Even the virtues of Lord Bute were not calculated to inſure reſpect or conciliate affection. It is ſaid of him, "No man "could complain, during his adminiſtration, of "a promiſe broken, or of hopes given and not "fulfilled. No inferior perſon in any depart-"ment where he had ſerved, who did not paſſion-"ately regret the loſs of ſo eaſy, ſo kind a ſupe-

[u] From private information. See alſo Burke's Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents, Works 4to. v. i. p. 441.

[x] Letter from Lord Melcombe to Lord Bute, 8th October, 1761.

"rior."

" rior [y]." In diminution of this eulogium, it is to be remarked that Lord Bute made no promiſes, and gave no hopes, except to perſons whoſe devotion he meant to ſecure; and that under him, the pernicious precedent was introduced, of removing every dependent of government, even to the loweſt clerks in the public offices, to introduce others of his own nomination [z]. This proceeding created many enemies, and if it gave him ſome claims to gratitude, thoſe claims were too ſlight and precariouſly founded to be much relied on. His patronage of literature and the arts, was liberal and honourable: with what judgment it was beſtowed, is not the province of hiſtory to diſcuſs; but it does not appear open to the imputation of corrupt or ſiniſter motives [a].

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THE character of this miniſter, as connected with his reſignation, is well pourtrayed by a contemporary writer. " The ſupport of the prince, " the acquieſcence of the people, the complaiſance of " parliament, and the baffled efforts of his rival, " ſeemed now to have rivetted and eſtabliſhed the " Earl of Bute as a permanent miniſter. A feeble " clamour without doors muſt have ſoon died " away with the hopes of forcing his Lordſhip " from his high department. To the aſtoniſhment of " the world, to the certain ruin of his character " as a politician, he ſuddenly reſigned. The ſur- " priſe of his enemies prevented them from taking " advantage of the conſternation among his friends. " The former abuſed him: the latter blamed: " both deſpiſed his conduct.

" THIS conduct, however, aroſe more from the

[y] Letter from a Gentleman in Town to his Friend in the Country, p. 11.

[z] Serious Conſiderations on the Meaſures of the Preſent Adminiſtration, by Dr. Butler, Biſhop of Hereford, p 10. The ſame fact is aſſerted in innumerable other publications.

[a] Lord Bute's private virtues and ſocial qualities are not deſcanted on, they do not form the ſubject of hiſtory; but they were numerous and eſtimable.

" character

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" character and diſpoſition of the man, than from
" any public oppoſition to his meaſures, or private
" circumſtances of intimidation. Though born with
" good parts, and a good heart, he was poſſeſſed of
" qualities which ſullied the one, and made the
" other doubtful in the eyes of the ſuperficial and pre-
" judiced. Surrounded with men whoſe weakneſs
" was known to the world, his judgment of man-
" kind became ſuſpected; and it was difficult to
" reconcile benevolence of temper, with a pride
" that rendered him inacceſſible. Attached by
" nature to a retired manner of life, he contracted
" a ſhyneſs of diſpoſition, which ought never to be
" carried into the higheſt department of the ſtate.
" Habit eſtabliſhed the companions of the obſcure
" part of his life ſo firmly in his mind, that he
" ſacrificed his reputation with others, to an ap-
" pearance of an inattention to them. They were,
" however, his companions, but not his counſellors:
" he loved them for their good nature; his good-
" ſenſe forced him to deſpiſe their underſtand-
" ings. Intelligent, penetrating, and ſhrewd, he
" ſtudied the theory of government with ſucceſs;
" circumſtances attending his youth, and a habit of re-
" tirement, circumſcribed his knowledge in the
" practice. Miſtaking the attention paid to his office
" and ſituation for actual attachment to his perſon,
" he was deceived by the deſigning; and he looked
" upon political deſertion as a ſingular inſtance of de-
" pravity in the age. The noiſe and clamours of
" an intereſted few he took for the voice of the
" public; and thinking he had deſerved well of the
" nation, he was offended at its ingratitude. He
" retired with chagrin; and his enemies owed
" the victory, which they aſcribed to their own
" ſpirit and conduct, to an adventitious miſtake in
" his mind [b]."

[b] Political Conduct of the Earl of Chatham, p. 13.

Mr.

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1763. Character of Mr. Grenville.

Mr. GRENVILLE, who was at the head of the new adminiſtration, was ſon of George Grenville, eſquire, of Wootton, in the county of Bucks, by Eſther, ſiſter of Lord Cobham. He was bred to the law; and in 1741 was initiated in parliamentary and official buſineſs. He was ſucceſſively appointed lord of the treaſury and admiralty, and treaſurer of the navy, under George II., and ſecretary of ſtate, and firſt lord of the treaſury, in the preſent reign. To a maſculine underſtanding, and reſolute mind, he joined an unwearied application, and conſidered buſineſs not as duty which he was to fulfil, but a pleaſure he was to enjoy. He won his way to power through the laborious gradations of public ſervice; and ſecured to himſelf a well earned rank in parliament, by a thorough knowledge of its conſtitution, and a perfect practice in all its affairs [c]. A conſtant attention to the forms of buſineſs, rendered him methodical in debate; but, although he was not diſtinguiſhed by the graces of eloquence, his ſpeeches were replete with ſound knowledge, and diſplayed a thorough acquaintance with his ſubject. His political life was chequered by diverſities of connexion and oppoſition: he came into office under the auſpices of Lord Cobham, and continued under the ſtandard of his brother, Earl Temple, till the beginning of the preſent reign. Jealouſy of his brother-in-law, Mr. Pitt, and other concurrent circumſtances, broke the family phalanx; and although Mr. Grenville afterward coaleſced with Lord Temple, he was never reconciled to Mr. Pitt.

Virulence of political publications.

LORD BUTE is accuſed of having begun a paper war, by hiring writers to ſupport his adminiſtration and vilify his opponents [d]. There is ſome truth in the ſuggeſtion that, certain writers were liberally, or rather extravagantly, paid for their exertions in behalf of government [e]; but Lord Bute did not begin

[c] Burke's works, 4to, vol. i. p. 541. [d] Hiſtory of the late minority, p. 77.

[e] This does not ſeem to have been a meaſure of Lord Bute's own ſuggeſtion, but to have flowed principally from Lord Melcombe. See his ſurvey, p. 4[illegible]

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begin the paper war, and the authors on his ſide did not equal their opponents in ſcurrility. If the practice of employing men of letters to defend the proceedings of government has any juſtification, it muſt be found in the circumſtances of the times, when from an extreme ſtrictneſs of regulation, no accounts of the debates in either houſe were given to the public, and their chief information on the topics agitated in parliament, was derived from the lords' proteſts, and ſuch pamphlets as detailed, in a partial and equivocal manner, the arguments uſed by the members.

Publication of the North Briton.

HOWEVER it might originate, the licentiouſneſs of the preſs now became unbounded, and diſgraceful to the nation, and it was thought neceſſary to attempt reſtraining this intolerable torrent of calumny. The late miniſter endured, with great equanimity and forbearance, the abuſe to which he was ſubjected, and did not uſe the laſh of power againſt a man, who had openly avowed his reſolution, "to try how far it was "practicable to carry the licentiouſneſs of writing, "under pretext of exerciſing the liberty of the "preſs[f]." This individual was John Wilkes, member of parliament for Ayleſbury, the avowed author of the North Briton, a periodical paper, in which every public meaſure was arraigned and ridiculed with coarſe

23d April.

invective and ſcurrilous ribaldry. This licence was carried to ſuch an extent in the obſervations on the King's ſpeech at the prorogation of parliament, publiſhed in the forty-fifth number of the North Briton,

26th. General Warrant iſſued.

that it was judged expedient to iſſue a warrant from the ſecretary of ſtate's office, requiring four meſſengers in ordinary to make ſtrict ſearch for the authors, printers and publiſhers of the above ſeditious and

p. 419, 425. In a letter to Lord Bute, dated 8th October, 1761, Lord Melcombe ſays, "Mr. Pitt may think by going out upon a ſpirited pretence, to turn the attention and diſſatisfaction of the public on thoſe, who, at a ruinous expence, are to carry on his wild meaſures, and whom they have been taught to diſlike, by a total abandonment of the preſs to him and his creatures, which I humbly hope you will think proper to employ better."

[f] Smollett's Complete Hiſtory of England, vol. xvi. p. 212.

treaſonable

treaſonable production, to apprehend and ſeize them, together with their papers, and bring them before the ſecretary of ſtate. Under this authority, one Leach, a printer, to whom the meſſengers had been erroneouſly directed, was apprehended, but diſcharged. Kearſley, the avowed publiſher, was next taken into cuſtody, and voluntarily acknowledged before Lord Halifax, the ſecretary of ſtate, that one Balfe was the printer, and Mr. Wilkes the author of the paper. Balfe confirmed the ſame facts; and, the crown-lawyers being of opinion that the publication of a libel was a breach of the peace, and therefore not a caſe of privilege, the meſſengers were directed, by virtue of the ſame warrant, to bring Mr. Wilkes before the ſecretary of ſtate. The officers were inſtructed to execute their warrant the ſame night; but Mr. Wilkes objecting to the general terms in which it was worded, and treatening the meſſengers with his vengeance, if they offered violence to his perſon at that unſeaſonable time, they deſiſted till the next morning; when he was arreſted, and, having in vain demanded a copy of the writ carried before Lord Hallifax.

CHAP. VI. 1763. 29th. 30th April, Wilkes arreſted.

When Mr. Wilkes was firſt apprehended, he received a viſit from Lord Temple, who by his requeſt, applied to the court of Common Pleas for a writ of habeas corpus. The motion was granted; but before the writ could be prepared, Mr. Wilkes, having refuſed to anſwer queſtions, was committed to the Tower, detained in cloſe cuſtody, and admittance refuſed to his friends, and even his counſel and ſolicitor[s].

Habeas Corpus moved for. Wilkes committed to the Tower.

Theſe were the circumſtances which brought under public diſcuſſion, one of the moſt important points, relative to the liberty of the ſubject, agitated ſince the Revolution; namely, the legality of General Warrants. The importance of the object commu-

Obſervations.

[s] Mr. Wilkes's Letter to the Duke of Graſton, Dec. 12, 1768.

CHAP. VI. 1763.

nicated itſelf to the parties concerned in the tranſaction, and made ſome parts of their conduct, which would otherwiſe have eſcaped obſervation, worthy of particular attention. The miniſtry could not juſtly incur blame for exerting the power with which they were inveſted, in puniſhing a libel ſo audacious as the forty-fifth number of the North Briton: it became a very diſtinct matter from perſonal forbearance, to tolerate the circulation of a writing, in which the king was accuſed of having uttered a lie from the throne. Of ſuch a crime it is no extenuation to diſtinguiſh (as Mr. Wilkes afterwards did [h], and in fact did in the very publication) between the King and his miniſter: the treaſonable ſuggeſtion is not mitigated by ſuppoſing the King the mere engine through which the miniſter deludes the people. It is a point of propriety and delicacy, in the courſe of parliamentary debate, when an addreſs to the throne is under diſcuſſion, to ſhew reſpect to the King, by conſidering his ſpeech as the production of the miniſter, in order to take away all appearance of offence from the free manner in which it is canvaſſed; but when in order to ſtigmatize the miniſter, the ſovereign is involved as an accomplice in a charge ſo meanly criminal as that of uttering a direct falſehood, ſuch a diſcrimination is rather in the nature of guilty ſubterfuge, than of reſpectful diſtinction.

With reſpect to the warrant; common ſenſe, the conſtitution, and the ſubſequent deciſion of the courts, concur in pronouncing it illegal; but the miniſtry who uſed it were not liable to cenſure. It lay before them as a cuſtomary proceſs, which had been reſorted to, even recently, by the moſt popular miniſters: nor was their attention directed to the warrant itſelf, but to its effect: the opinion of crown-lawyers was not taken on the extended queſtion, whether a general warrant was legal; but whether Wilkes's of-

[h] See his ſpeech in the court of Common Pleas, 3d May.

fence

fence was such as justified the use of it, and whether his privilege protected him against its operation. CHAP. VI.

1763.

THE first habeas corpus was directed to the messengers, but, not being issued till Mr. Wilkes was out of their custody, was rendered ineffectual, and a new one ordered, directed to the constable of the Tower. In obedience to this writ, Mr. Wilkes was brought before the court: he made a flippant speech, in which he exposed his grievances, and accused the ministry of having recourse to this mode of persecution, because they had failed in their attempt to corrupt him. The court took time to consider of the arguments adduced, and at length the chief justice delivered their joint opinion, that the warrant was not illegal, but that Wilkes was entitled to a discharge, by virtue of his privilege; a benefit which he owed intirely to the gratuitous admission of the counsel for the crown, that he was a member of parliament [1]. A prosecution was immediately instituted against him by the attorney general for publishing the North Briton.

Further proceedings. 3d May. 6th. Wilkes discharged.

LORD TEMPLE in these proceedings stood forward the avowed supporter and patron of Mr. Wilkes, and more than shared the popularity resulting from the contest. The King having deprived Mr. Wilkes of his commission as colonel in the Buckinghamshire militia; it was the office of Lord Temple, as lord lieutenant, to announce that resolution; which he did in the most gentle terms, accompanied with assurances of regret, and complimentary testimonials. This behaviour on the part of Lord Temple was so offensive, that he was struck off the list of privy counsellors, and dismissed from the lord lieutenancy of Buckingham-

Conduct of Lord Temple. Wilkes deprived of his commission. Lord Temple dismissed. 7th.

[1] In delivering judgment on this point, the chief justice used these words: "It remains to be considered, whether Mr. Wilkes ought not to be discharged: the King's counsel have thought fit to admit that he was a member of the House of Commons, and we are bound to take notice of it. In the case of the seven bishops, the court took notice of their privilege from their description in the warrant: in the present case there is no suit depending; here no writ of privilege can therefore issue, no plea of pivilege can be received; it rests, and must rest, on the admission of the counsel for the crown; it is fairly before us upon that admission, and we are bound to determine it." Digest of the Laws concerning Libels, p. 49.

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ſhire, which was given to Sir Francis Daſhwood, who had recently attained the title of Lord Le Deſpenſer.

But although, from an opinion that Mr. Wilkes was improperly treated, Lord Temple ſupported him with a warmth reſulting from conviction, and with vigour ſufficient to protect him from ſuffering under any wanton effort of malevolence, or even under a miſconſtruction of the law, he did not approve the violence and malignity which characterized his paper, or the national reflections with which it abounded. He adviſed Mr. Wilkes to remain in a ſtate of dignified reſignation, and await the deciſion of parliament, and the award of the courts of law. This line of conduct[k] would have ſuited Lord Temple in ſimilar circumſtances; but the only aim of Mr. Wilkes was to court perſecution, for the ſake of acquiring popularity. He no ſooner obtained his diſcharge, than he wrote a ſcurrilous letter to the ſecretaries of ſtate, aſſerting that his houſe had been robbed, and the ſtolen goods were in their poſſeſſion. To render this inſult the more inſupportable, he printed the letter, and diſtributed ſeveral thouſand copies. The ſecretaries of ſtate inſtead of treating this deſperate effort with merited contempt, returned an anſwer which gave Mr. Wilkes an opportunity of appealing to their ſenſe of propriety, for an obſervance of thoſe laws of decorum which he had ſo utterly neglected[l].

Death of Lord Egremont. 21ſt Aug.

The cabinet, which had always been conſidered extremely weak, was ſtill further enfeebled by the death of Lord Egremont, whoſe great abilities and in-

[k] It is of the utmoſt importance to the memory of Lord Temple, to make a ſtrong diſcrimination between his character, and that of Mr. Wilkes, which is repreſented in the blackeſt colours of profligacy, inhumanity, meanneſs, and venality. See letter to Lord Temple, &c. &c. And it is proper to obſerve that there is not the leaſt ſhadow of truth in Mr. Wilkes's allegation, that the miniſtry perſecuted, becauſe they could not corrupt him.

[l] The ſtatement of proceedings againſt Mr. Wilkes, and the reflections on them, form the ſubject of ſome hundreds of pamphlets, and occupy a conſiderable portion of all the periodical works of the day, from which this narrative has been extracted.

fluence

fluence gave weight to his meaſures. Lord Bute, ſenſible the miniſtry could not continue, waited on Mr. Pitt, and obtaining a clear ſtatement of his opinions with reſpect to men and meaſures, procured for him an interview with the King at Buckingham Houſe. Mr. Pitt's ſituation was thus rendered extremely delicate: to refuſe advice and aſſiſtance, when ſolicited by the King, was impoſſible; but, as the jealous vigilance of oppoſition was ever ready to take alarm, a certain degree of publicity was the beſt means of avoiding ſuſpicion. He went through the Mall in his gouty chair at noon-day, the boot of which (as he ſaid himſelf) made it as well known, as if his name was written upon it. His Majeſty received him moſt graciouſly, and, during an audience of three hours, liſtened to him with great patience and attention. Mr. Pitt deſcanted on the infirmities of the peace; the things neceſſary, and hitherto neglected, to improve and preſerve it; the ſtate of the nation, both foreign and domeſtic; and ſpecified the great Whig families who had been driven from His Majeſty's ſervice, whom it would be for his intereſt to reſtore. The King made no objections to any of theſe ſtatements, except by ſaying, that his honour muſt be preſerved; and directed Mr. Pitt to attend him again on the twenty-ninth.

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25th. Negotiation with Mr. Pitt.

27th.

Mr. PITT well ſatisfied, from His Majeſty's apparent acquieſcence, that a cabinet would be formed, according to his ſuggeſtions, on a Whig baſis, repaired without a moment's delay to Claremont, and arranged with the Duke of Newcaſtle the new adminiſtration. He alſo undertook to apprize the Duke of Devonſhire, and the Marquis of Rockingham: the Duke of Newcaſtle was to inform Lord Hardwicke.

28th Aug.

THE next audience ſubverted theſe hopes; for, when Mr. Pitt named his co-adjutors, the King mentioned ſome perſons whom he wiſhed to introduce into the adminiſtration, and laid down a plan for a

29th Aug.

CHAP. VI. 1763.

general arrangement. Mr. Pitt, without circumlocution, told His Majeſty that a miniſtry could not be carried on without the noble families, who had ſupported the revolution government, and other great perſons in whoſe abilities and tried integrity the public confided from experience, and who had weight and credit with the nation. His Majeſty ſuddenly terminated the conference, by ſaying, "Well, "Mr. Pitt, I ſee (or I fear) this will not do. My ho- "nour is concerned, and I muſt ſupport it."

THIS remarkable tranſaction furniſhed ample materials for animadverſion and conjecture. It was ſuppoſed by the Earl of Hardwicke, from whoſe letter the information on this topic is principally derived, that in the day which intervened between Mr. Pitt's firſt and ſecond audience, ſome ſtrong effort was made which produced the alteration.

BUT, with great deference to this opinion, the change of the King's ſentiments may be aſcribed to other cauſes. The only perſon who could be ſuppoſed to influence the royal mind was Lord Bute, and he had no motive to adopt ſuch a line of conduct; for, in both theſe conferences, Mr. Pitt expreſſed no objection to unite with him, and the miniſtry could not act with cordiality towards one who had attempted to diſplace, without conſulting them. It is more probable, that at the firſt interview, the King, tranſported with Mr. Pitt's rapid and commanding eloquence, overlooked the inevitable tendency of his arrangement; that of ſubjecting the throne to the domination of certain powerful families; but in the intermediate day, he had reflected on the ſubject, and when the ſecond conference took place, although he was willing to aſſure to Mr. Pitt and his friends a complete aſcendancy in the cabinet, by making Lord Temple firſt lord of the treaſury, Lord Hardwicke preſident of the council, and Mr. Pitt ſecretary of ſtate, yet he would not ſubmit to the excluſive ſpirit which induced Mr. Pitt to attempt filling

filling the whole council-board with one ſtrong, compact, weighty influence. This oppoſition of principle terminated the diſcuſſion, and Mr. Pitt declared that, if examined on oath, he could not tell upon what the negociation broke off, whether upon any particular point, or upon the general complexion of the whole[m]. CHAP. VI. 1763.

THIS treaty having failed, the Duke of Bedford was appointed lord preſident of the council, Lord Sandwich ſecretary of ſtate, Lord Egmont was placed at the head of the admiralty, and Mr. Grenville retained his ſituation of firſt lord of the treaſury and chancellor of the exchequer: this was called the Duke of Bedford's miniſtry. 2d, 10th sept. Duke of Bedford's miniſtry.

THEIR career began at an inauſpicious moment, when the whole nation ſeemed replete with jealouſy, alarm, and diſcontent. Mr. Pitt alone could have effectually aſſuaged the popular irritability; but the King was precluded from benefiting by his popularity.

ONE great ſource of uneaſineſs was for a while, removed in the perſon of Mr. Wilkes, who diſgraced his character, and forfeited all proſpect of ſupport from perſons of reſpectability. After his liberation from the Tower, inſtead of following the advice of more diſcerning friends, and acting with the dignity becoming a champion of popular freedom, he adopted a line of conduct equally violent and mean: finding the printers averſe to incur the danger of publiſhing his productions, he eſtabliſhed a preſs in his own houſe, and diſtributed propoſals for printing by ſubſcription, at the price of one guinea, "The proceedings of Adminiſtration on his caſe;" but, to his great diſappointment, very few ſubſcriptions were ob- Wilkes publiſhes ſundry libels.

[m] See Lord Hardwicke's letter to a near relation (Lord Royſton) on the ſubject of a miniſterial negotiation in 1763, printed for Jeffreys and Debrett, 1785. See alſo Anatomy of a late Negotiation; and a general abſtract of the accounts of this interview, which were given to the public in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1763, p. 451.

tained.

CHAP. tained[n]. He next committed to his preſs an obſcene and blaſphemous poem, called "An Eſſay on Woman;" the title being a parody on that of Pope's Eſſay on Man. A ſheet was communicated through one of Wilkes's journeymen printers to Mr. Kidgell, chaplain to Lord March, and was, at length, laid before the ſecretaries of ſtate[o]. Meanwhile, Mr. Wilkes's preſs was employed in a new edition of the firſt forty-five numbers of the North Briton, with notes and corrections; this meaſure was alſo repugnant to the counſel of his friends, as it furniſhed more certain means of conviction in the proſecution inſtituted againſt him. Mr. Wilkes, however, diſregarded advice, and having put his work in a ſtate of forwardneſs, went to paſs a few weeks in France[p].

And goes to France.

[n] Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 203.

[o] See Kidgell's Narrative, publiſhed by Robſon and Wilkie, 1763. It is alleged, in mitigation of Mr. Wilkes's crime, that no more than a dozen copies were printed. Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 206.—Anſwer to Kidgell's Pamphlet, p. 8.

[p] Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 211. During his ſtay in France, Mr. Wilkes was inſulted by a Scottiſh gentleman of the name of Forbes, and was, in order to prevent a duel, put under an arreſt.

CHAPTER THE SEVENTH:

1763—1764.

Meeting of Parliament.—Proceedings reſpecting Mr. Wilkes. —Riot on burning the North Briton.—Further proceedings in Parliament.—Actions tried againſt the meſſenger.—Mr. Wilkes returns to France.—Marriage of the Princeſs Auguſta.—Mr. Wilkes expelled the Houſe of Commons.—Debates on privilege, and on general warrants.—Mr. Wilkes's trial and outlawry.—Supplies.—Reſolutions for taxing America.—Prorogation of Parliament.—View of American affairs.—Government of Canada.—Intrigues of the French in Canada.—Indian war.—Regulations for prevention of ſmuggling — Conduct of the New England provinces. — Dr. Franklin ſent to England as agent.—His character.

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1763. 15th Nov. Meeting of Parliament. Proceedings reſpecting Wilkes.

MR. WILKES's caſe was the firſt object which engaged the attention of parliament. On the return of the Commons to their own houſe, after hearing the King's ſpeech, Mr. Grenville anticipated any other motion [a], by ſtating, that His Majeſty having received information that John Wilkes, Eſquire, was the author of a moſt ſeditious and dangerous libel, publiſhed ſince the laſt ſeſſion, had cauſed him to be apprehended and detained for trial. He then recapitulated the proceedings in the courts below, and laid on the table the libel, with the examinations of the bookſeller and printer. An addreſs of thanks was voted, and a majority of the houſe [b] reſolved, the paper entitled the North Briton, number forty-five, to be a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, and that it ſhould be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

[a] The addreſs on the King's ſpeech was moved the 17th, and carried without debate: it contained the congratulations of the Houſe on Her Majeſty's ſafe delivery of a ſecond ſon, which took place the 16th Auguſt.

[b] 237 againſt 111.

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1763. Wilkes's complaint of a breach of privilege.

When this motion was diſpoſed of, Mr. Wilkes, premiſing that in his perſon the rights of all the Commons of England, and the privileges of parliament, had been violated, ſtated the circumſtances of his arreſt and diſcharge, and the proceedings againſt him in the court of King's Bench by ſubpœna. He requeſted the judgment of the Houſe on his privilege; declaring, however, that if they decided in his favour, he would wave the advantage, and put himſelf on a jury of his country. The further conſideration of the King's meſſage, and the caſe of privilege, was adjourned to the twenty-third.

Complaint againſt Wilkes in the Houſe of Lords.

On the ſame day a complaint was made in the Houſe of Lords, of the Eſſay on Woman, which was produced. Lord Sandwich dwelt with great force on the profaneneſs and obſcenity of the production; and Dr. Warburton, Biſhop of Glouceſter, complained of a breach of privilege, as the author, to render the parody on Pope's Eſſay on Man more complete, had affixed the learned Prelate's name to one of the notes [c].

16th Nov. Wilkes's duel with Martin.

This unexpected attack exhibited at once to the delinquent the effects of his imprudence, and he gave way to the violence ſuggeſted by deſpair. In the courſe of debate in the Lower Houſe, Mr. Martin, member for Camelford, who was attacked in ſome of the early numbers of the North Britain, declared the author, whoever he might be, a malignant and infamous coward. Mr. Wilkes ſent a letter to Mr. Martin, acknowledging himſelf the author of the paragraphs complained of; the conſequence was a meeting in Hyde Park; the parties fought with piſtols; and Mr. Wilkes was dangerouſly wounded.

23d and 24th Nov. Debates on his caſe.

The queſtion of privilege was debated with great

[c] Hiſtory of the late Minority, p. 233. It has afforded ſome ground of ſurprize, and furniſhed topics of ridicule and cenſure, that the Earl of Sandwich ſhould ſtand forward as Mr. Wilkes's principal accuſer on this occaſion, becauſe Lord Sandwich's conduct was not conſidered ſufficiently moral to render him a fit champion in ſuch a cauſe.

warmth during two days. On the ſecond, the ſpeaker produced a letter from Mr. Wilkes, who requeſted the further conſideration might be deferred till he was able to attend; but the houſe reſumed the debate, and finally reſolved, "That the privilege of parliament does not extend to the caſe of writing and publiſhing ſeditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obſtruct the ordinary courſe of the laws, in the ſpeedy and effectual proſecution of ſo heinous and dangerous an offence[d]." The reſolutions made on the firſt-day of the ſeſſion were alſo confirmed; and as the concurrence of the lords was deemed of great importance, a conference was deſired. No debates on this ſubject are preſerved, except a ſpeech of Mr. Pitt, who vehemently reprobated the facility with which parliament ſurrendered its own privileges; but he carefully impreſſed on the houſe, that he was merely delivering a conſtitutional opinion, and not vindicating either the libel or its author. "With reſpect to the paper itſelf," he ſaid, "which gave pretence for this requeſt to ſurrender the privileges of parliament, the houſe had already voted it a libel; he joined in that vote. He condemned the whole ſeries of North Britons, as illiberal, unmanly, and deteſtable. He abhorred all national reflections. The King's ſubjects were one people. Whoever divided them, was guilty of ſedition. His Majeſty's complaint was well founded; it was juſt; it was neceſſary. The author did not deſerve to be ranked among the human ſpecies, he was the blaſphemer of his God, and the libeller of his King. He had no connexion, nor did he aſſociate or communicate with any ſuch writer."

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THE reſolutions of the commons were at the firſt conference left with the lords, and produced an animated debate. None of the ſpeeches are preſerved, except that of Lord Lyttleton, who defended

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1763. 25th Nov. In the lords.

the proceeding of the commons with great ability and manly eloquence. He entered into the hiſtory of privilege, and analyzed the powers of the crown and parliament, combating, the application of the doctrine of inviolabity, in certain caſes; among the moſt atrocious of which, he placed the diſſemination of ſeditious libels. He particularly inſiſted on the malignant and dangerous tendency of publications calculated to weaken the connexion between England and Scotland; and contended, with great force of argument, againſt the apprehenſions entertained of unduly extending the power of the crown, by the deciſion of the preſent queſtion. As the offence was bailable, there was no reaſon to fear that the power veſted in the ſecretary of ſtate could be abuſed to any dangerous purpoſe; on the contrary, both government and liberty were as ſafe as the imperfection of human policy would allow. Acknowledging the purity of the principles which animated the lords in oppoſition, he concluded by ſaying; "In order to preſerve the independence of parliament againſt any future violations on the part of the crown, it will be neceſſary to preſerve the reputation of parliament in the minds of the people, and the love of it in their hearts. How, my lords, can this be done, if they find it an obſtacle to that equal juſtice which is their birth-right, and their ſafety? Upon the whole, I am confident your lordſhips will on no account depart from that maxim, which is the corner-ſtone of all government, that juſtice ſhould have its courſe, without ſtop or impediment. *Jus, fas, lex, potentiſſima ſunt.* This, my lords, is the very ſoul and eſſence of freedom. Obſtruct this, and you immediately open a door to all violence and confuſion; to all iniquity, and all the cruelties of private revenge, to the deſtruction of private peace, the diſſolution of public order, and, in the end, to an unlimited and deſpotic authority, which we muſt be forced to ſubmit to

"as

"as a remedy againſt ſuch intolerable evils. The "dominion of law is the dominion of liberty. Pri- "vilege againſt law, in matters of high concernment "to the public, is oppreſſion, is tyranny, where- "ſoever it exiſts."

THE lords concurred in the reſolutions of the commons; but a long and ſpirited proteſt, ſigned by ſeventeen peers, replete with conſtitutional learning and ingenious argument, was entered on the journals. Proteſt.

AT a conference, an addreſs to the King was voted. It was expreſſed in dutiful and affectionate terms; and blamed with proper aſperity the wanton indignity he had ſuſtained. Mr. Wilkes was alſo ordered to attend at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, in a week, if his health would permit. 1ſt Dec. Addreſs the King. 2d. Wilkes, ordered to attend at the bar.

THE execution of that part of the ſentence which related to the burning of the North Briton, was committed to the ſuperintendance of Alderman Harley, one of the city members, and a ſheriff of London. This operation was rendered extremely difficult and dangerous by the tumultuous diſpoſition of the populace, who, combining the names of Wilkes and Liberty, conſidered the puniſhment of the one, a death-blow to the other. The ſheriffs and other officers, when aſſembled at the Royal Exchange to perform their duty, were aſſailed by a furious mob, pelted with filth and ſtones, and inſulted in the groſſeſt manner. The glaſs of Harley's chariot was broken by a billet of wood, plucked from the fire, and thrown at his perſon. Alarmed at this appearance of premeditated violence, he went to the manſion-houſe, and apprized the lord mayor of the outrage; the executioner followed, and the conſtables were obliged to retire, after their ſtaves had been broken by the populace. The pieces of the libel were reſcued, and carried in triumph to Temple Bar, where a bonfire was made, and a large *jack-boot* committed to the flames [c]. 3d. Riot on burning the North Briton.

[c] In ridicule of *Jack* Earl of *Bute*.

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1763. 6th & 7th. Vote of the commons on the ſubject.

THESE proceedings being reported to both houſes, they voted that all perſons concerned in the riot, their aiders and abettors, were perturbators of the public peace, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and obſtructors of national juſtice. Thanks were voted to the ſheriffs, and the King was addreſſed to give directions that the moſt effectual methods might be taken for diſcovering and proſecuting the offenders; one of whom was convicted.

7th. Proceedings on Wilkes's caſe deferred.

IN conſequence of the order for the attendance of Mr. Wilkes, an eminent phyſician and ſurgeon[f] appeared at the bar, and ſtated that he could not, on account of his health, obey the injunction. The time was then enlarged for a week; at the expiration of which, the ſame perſons again making a ſimilar report, the period was extended beyond the term allotted for the Chriſtmas receſs; but to prevent colluſion, a phyſician and ſurgeon[g] named by the houſe were directed to attend Mr. Wilkes, and report their own opinion on his caſe on the nineteenth of January. The diſcuſſion of his complaint of a breach of privilege, was adjourned to the ſame day.

Actions againſt the meſſengers.

NUMEROUS actions had been commenced againſt the meſſengers, by perſons arreſted under the general warrant, to recover damages for falſe impriſonment. They were all tried in the court of Common Pleas, and verdicts of various amounts recovered. Mr Wilkes had alſo brought actions againſt the two ſecretaries of ſtate, and againſt Mr. Wood, under-ſecretary of ſtate, for injuries ſuſtained on the ſame occaſion. The proceedings againſt Lord Egremont abated by reaſon of his death. Lord Halifax, by various exertions of privilege, and at length, by ſtanding out in contempt of the court, procured delay till Mr. Wilkes was outlawed[h]. The action againſt

6th.

[f] Dr. Brocklesbury and Mr. Graves. [g] Dr. Heberden and Mr. Cæſar Hawkins.

[h] In a tranſaction of this nature, hiſtory can hardly be too minute; the means of delay uſed by Lord Halifax are therefore exactly ſpecified; they appear diſcreditable

againſt Mr. Wood was tried before a ſpecial jury at Guildhall, and after a hearing of fifteen hours, a verdict was given for a thouſand pounds damages. Bills of exception were tendered and allowed in this and the cauſes againſt the meſſenger. The Lord Chief Juſtice, on this occaſion, extended his former opinion ſo far as to declare the warrant unconſtitutional, illegal, and abſolutely void. "If it be good," he ſaid, "a Secretary of State can delegate and depute "any one of his meſſengers, or any, even from the "loweſt of the people, to take examinations, to commit, or releaſe, and, in fine, to do every act which "the higheſt judicial officers the law knows can do "or order. There is no authority in our law books "that mentions this kind of warrants, but in expreſs "terms condemns them. Upon the matureſt conſideration, I am bold to ſay, this warrant is illegal; "but I am far from wiſhing a matter of this conſequence ſhould reſt ſolely on my opinion. It may "be referred to the Twelve Judges, and there is a ſtill "higher court, before which it may be canvaſſed, "and whoſe determination is final. If theſe ſuperior "juriſdictions ſhould declare my opinion erroneous, "I ſubmit as will become me, and kiſs the rod; but "I muſt ſay, I ſhall always conſider it as a rod of "iron for the chaſtiſement of the people of Great "Britain."

CHAP. VII. 1763. 10th.

ditable to the cauſe in which they were employed. Original was iſſued, teſted the firſt day of June, and returnable from the firſt day of the Holy Trinity, in three weeks, (19th of June 1763); and the Earl being ſummoned, caſt an eſſoign, which was adjourned until the 18th of November. Then he availed himſelf of his privilege, which being at an end, and all the eſſoigns expired, a diſtringas was taken out, teſted the 9th of May, being the firſt day of Eaſter term 1764, returnable from the day of Eaſter in five weeks, (27th of May); the ſheriff returned forty ſhillings iſſues. The Earl did not appear: the court directed fifty pounds iſſues. An alias diſtringas was taken out, teſted the 30th of May, and returnable on the morrow of the Holy Trinity, (18th of June); the Sheriff returned his iſſues. The Earl ſtill refuſed to appear: the court ordered five hundred pounds iſſues. A pluries diſtringas was taken out, teſted the firſt day of Trinity Term, (the 22d of June); and returnable in three weeks of the Holy Trinity (the 8th of July). In November following Mr. Wilkes was outlawed; then the Earl appeared and pleaded the outlawry.—Hiſtory of the late Minority.

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THE judgment respecting the illegality of general warrants was afterward, on arguing the bills of exceptions, affirmed by Lord Mansfield[i].

1763. Frantic attempt to assassinate Mr. Wilkes.

SOON after the verdict in Mr. Wilkes's favour, a man called at his house, but being refused admittance, went to a coffee-house in the neighbourhood, and declared that he and ten more were determined "to cut "Wilkes off, let the event be what it might." He again applied to see Mr. Wilkes, and was taken into custody, when a new penknife was found in his pocket. A complaint was made in the House of Commons, but his insanity being clearly proved, the House discharged him from further attendance: the Court of King's Bench, however, thought proper to commit him, for want of sureties to keep the peace[k].

9th.

19th.

MR. WILKES refused to admit the visits of the two medical men appointed by Parliament; but in vindication of his own friends called in two others. His case, however, does not seem to have been so dangerous as represented, since, in a few days after the recess, he set out for Paris.

24th Nov.

29th. Marriage of the Princess Augusta.

IN the course of this session, the King announced to Parliament, by message, a proposal of marriage from the Prince of Brunswick and Lunenburg, to his eldest sister the Princess Augusta; and the sum of eighty thousand pounds was voted for her dowry. The Prince came to England early in the ensuing year, and the marriage was solemnized.

1764. 16th Jan. 19th. Wilkes expelled.

WHEN Parliament met after the recess, the order of the day being read for the attendance of Mr. Wilkes, the Speaker produced a letter from him, inclosing a certificate of one of the French King's physicians, and an army surgeon, importing that from the state of his wound, and its probable consequences,

[i] See 3 Burrow, 1762.

[k] This man's name was Alexander Dun. The fact is recorded in every periodical publication.

he

he could not, without danger, leave Paris. This certificate was not authenticated before a notary public, nor were any other regular means taken to insure its credit in England; and as his whole conduct appeared calculated to baffle and deride the authority of the House, they were perfectly justified in resisting a motion to adjourn the consideration of the charges against him, and in proceeding to an immediate hearing of evidence. The examination occupied the House until three o'clock in the morning; when it was resolved, that number forty-five of the North Briton, which had been voted a seditious libel, contained expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards His Majesty, the grossest aspersions on both Houses of Parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legislature; that it had a manifest tendency to alienate the affections of the people from the King; to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws; and to excite them to traitorous insurrections against government. It was further resolved that Mr. Wilkes should be expelled; and a new writ issued for Aylesbury. 20th.

Mr. WILKES's complaint of a breach of privilege, notwithstanding his expulsion, came on in due course to be debated in the House; and occupied their attention during several days. The chief object of administration was to separate the supposed delinquency of Mr. Wood and Mr. Webb, the under-secretaries of state, against whom complaint was made, from the question on the legality of general warrants, and to confine themselves to the discussion of the mere act of those gentlemen, so as not to prejudice the question, then undecided in the courts of law[1]. After examining evidence, and hearing the parties in their own defence, the complaint was discharged. 13th, 14th, 17th, Feb. Debates on the breach of privilege.

[1] The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas had given an opinion at nisi prius, but the decision on the bills of exceptions was yet reserved.

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A motion was made to produce the warrant under which they had acted, but rejected. A general queſtion was ſubmitted to the Houſe, "That a warrant "for apprehending and ſeizing the author, printers, "and publiſhers of a ſeditious libel, is not warranted "by law." This motion was afterwards amended by adding, "Although ſuch warrant has been iſſued "according to the practice of office, and has been "frequently produced to the Court of King's Bench; "and, ſo far as appears to this houſe, the validity "thereof has never been doubted, but the parties "have been bailed by the court." The principal point of defence urged by miniſtry, and, in fact, their beſt ground for exculpation, was long-eſtabliſhed precedent, and they cited two inſtances in which Mr. Pitt iſſued general warrants.

Mr. PITT ſaid, all the crown had deſired, and the miniſters wiſhed, was accompliſhed in the conviction and expulſion of Mr. Wilkes, and therefore it was now their duty to do juſtice to the nation, the conſtitution, and the law; but the miniſters and law officers, by evading the diſcuſſion, appeared conſcious that the warrant was illegal. He denied that precedent afforded any juſtification: and ſaid when he himſelf iſſued ſuch warrants he knew them to be illegal, but preferring the general ſafety, in time of war and public danger, to every perſonal conſideration, he ran the riſque, as he would of his head, had that been the forfeit, upon the like motive, and did an extraordinary act, againſt a ſuſpicious foreigner, juſt come from France, and who was concealed at different times in different houſes. He diſtinguiſhed ſtrongly between his caſe and that before the Houſe: "What "was there in a libel ſo heinous and terrible, as to "require this formidable inſtrument, which like an "inundation, bore down all the barriers and fences "of happineſs and ſecurity? Parliament had voted "away its own privilege, and laid the perſonal free-"dom of every repreſentative of the nation at the "mercy

" mercy of His Majeſty's Attorney General. If the " Houſe negatived the motion, they would be the " diſgrace of the preſent age, and the reproach of " poſterity; who, after ſacrificing their own privi- " leges, had abandoned the liberty of the ſubject, " upon a pretence wilfully founded in error, and ma- " nifeſtly urged for the purpoſe of deluſion." CHAP. VII. 1764.

THE miniſtry, in general, avoided the queſtion of legality, confining themſelves entirely to precedent, and the impropriety of deciding a ſubject which was yet to be diſcuſſed in the courts below. The oppoſition had arranged their motions with great care, at ſeveral meetings held at the houſe of Sir George Savile [m]. They began the debate, it is ſaid, in full confidence of victory; but after a long diſcuſſion, the queſtion of an adjournment for four months was carried by a ſmall majority [n].

Mr. WILKES, having entered an appearance, was found guilty on both the proſecutions, for publiſhing the North Briton, and the Eſſay on Woman, but his popularity was undiminiſhed, and the ſpirit excited by the proceedings againſt him unallayed. On the very day of his trial, the common council voted thanks to the city members, for their zealous and ſpirited endeavours to aſſert the rights and liberties of the ſubject, by their laudable exertions on the late queſtion reſpecting general warrants, and exhorted them to perſevere in the ſame courſe. At the ſame time, in manifeſtation of the ſenſe they entertained of the inflexible firmneſs and integrity of Lord Chief Juſtice Pratt, they voted him the freedom of the city, and requeſted that he would ſit for his picture, to be placed in Guildhall, in gratitude for his honeſt and upright deciſion on the validity of the warrant, 21ſt. Wilkes tried. Proceedings of the common council. 1ſt Nov. 1763.

[m] Hiſtory of the Minority, p. 270.

[n] 234 againſt 220. General Conway voted in this Minority, although, in every other inſtance, he ſupported the miniſtry. This ſingle act gave ſo much offence, that at the riſing of parliament he was deprived of all his civil and military employments. See Lord Orford's Works, vol. ii. p. 547, vol. v. p. 105.

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Mr. Wilkes was afterward outlawed for not appearing to receive judgment.

1764. Wilkes outlawed. Supplies.

THE ſupplies for this year, amounted to 7,771,000l.; the deficiency was raiſed, without new taxes or a lottery, by the renewal of the bank charter for twenty-one years, for which government received a hundred and ten thouſand pounds[a]; by the produce of French prizes taken before the war, amounting to ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; and by two millions from the ſinking fund. The miniſtry alſo deemed it neceſſary, this year, to contemplate America as a ſource of future revenue.

10th Mar. Reſolutions for taxing America.

A ſeries of reſolutions was brought into the Houſe for regulating the trade and impoſing duties on certain articles of American commerce: they formed the baſis of an act, which afterward paſſed the legiſlature, and directed that the new duties ſhould be paid in

5th April.

ſpecie into the Engliſh Exchequer. Theſe reſolutions were accompanied with one for introducing a ſtamp duty into America; but the miniſter withdrew it for the preſent, in order to allow time for the coloniſts to petition againſt it, when brought forward in another ſeſſion.

19th April. Prorogation of parliament.

In the ſpeech on proroguing parliament, the King adverted to the meaſures reſpecting America in theſe terms: "The wiſe regulations which have been eſta-"bliſhed to augment the public revenues, to unite "the intereſts of the moſt diſtant poſſeſſions of my "crown, and to encourage and ſecure their commerce "with Great Britain, call for my hearty approbation."

View of American affairs.

THE affairs of America aſſumed from this period an unexpected importance; and this attempt to derive from the colonies, a revenue, for the relief of the mother-country, laid the foundation of one of the moſt extraordinary conteſts recorded in hiſtory.

THE great acceſſion of territory acquired by the peace, demanded no leſs wiſdom than genius for its

[a] This was not the only advantage accruing to government from the tranſaction. The bank alſo undertook to circulate a million in Exchequer bills, bearing four per cent. which were then at a diſcount. Sinclair's Hiſtory of the Revenue, vol. iii. p. 16.

government;

government; and it ſeems almoſt to exceed the art of the politician to frame ſuch a ſyſtem as would, without impoſing the yoke of ſlavery, preſerve the tie of independence, over an immenſe tract of colony, ſo far removed from the parent ſhore. The inhabitants of great part of North America, were ſtrongly imbued with the ſpirit of liberty which characterizes the natives of Britain, from whom they derived their origin, and with that jealous irritability which is the companion and beſt guard of uncontaminated freedom. CHAP. VII.

WITHOUT penetrating into the remote periods of hiſtory with critical exactneſs, it will be proper ſuccinctly to point out the differences in the inhabitants of various parts of the Britiſh American dominions, and their habits and propenſities, ſo as to form a clear eſtimate of their motives and ſprings of action. The colonies were reſolved into three grand diviſions, the Northern, Middle, and Southern.

THE Northern, or New England Provinces, comprehending New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſſet's Bay, Rhode Iſland, and Connecticut, poſſeſs a leſs fertile ſoil than the other parts of America; but ſupply large paſture for herds: the uncultivated parts produce good timber, and their ſeas abound with fiſh. The natives are healthy, ſtrong, and vigorous; keen, penetrating, active, and enterprizing. Their origin, derived from the fanatics, who, in the reign of Charles I., fled from perſecution in England to exerciſe it in America, was ſtill diſcernible in their manners, conduct, and habits.

THE Middle Provinces, which include New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, and Delaware, afford the means of agriculture, and are favourable to the breed of cattle. Their ſoil is rich: and they are enabled to export wheat, flour, and furs. The inhabitants are robuſt, frugal, perſevering, and induſtrious; plain and honeſt in their dealings, but of rude unpliant manners, with little penetration, and leſs knowledge. The greater part of their country had been ceded to the crown of Great Britain by the Dutch and Swedes.

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Penſylvania was a ſettlement of quakers, for whom the celebrated Penn had framed a wiſe and conſiſtent code of laws. Their proſperity and unobtruſive character rendered them eaſy to govern; and, until ſeduced or irritated, faithful in their attachment to Great Britain.

THE Southern Provinces, under which denomination are included Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, exhibit a conſiderable variety of climate and manners. In the moſt ſouthern parts, where the intenſe heat renders labour impracticable to any but Africans, the people are pallid, tall, ſlender, indolent, voluptuous, and oſtentatious; yet ſhrewd, intelligent, and hoſpitable. The inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, were diſtinguiſhed for their imitation of the people of Great Britain, which extended to every particular of their furniture, dreſs, and manners. The natives of North Carolina were hardy and robuſt, chiefly employed in rearing cattle, and remarkable for their expertneſs in the uſe of rifle-barreled guns.

VIRGINIA, the earlieſt Britiſh colony in America, which owed its name to Elizabeth, and its eſtabliſhment to James I. had riſen from a miſerable handful of emigrants, not exceeding a hundred, to a ſtate of great wealth and proſperity. The inhabitants, as ſtrongly marked in their character as thoſe of the New England colonies, were exemplary in their attachment to monarchy; they were the laſt of the Britiſh ſubjects who yielded to the ſucceſsful arms of Oliver Cromwell, and the firſt of the coloniſts who proclaimed Charles II.—Maryland, ever proſperous, free, and happy, was originally a ſettlement of Catholics, whom Charles I. reluctantly perſecuted, and who retained an affectionate allegiance to the crown. North and South Carolina were granted by Charles II. to ſome noblemen and perſons of rank, who employed Locke to form a conſtitution; but this great gift of an immortal genius was no bleſſing to the people;

people; they did not thrive till the government of England annulled their conſtitution, and ſubjected them to the more practical ſyſtem of Virginia [p].

SUCH were the people whom Mr. Grenville propoſed to ſubject to taxation, for the purpoſe of eaſing the burthens of England. In the firſt view of this project, it is only neceſſary to examine its general expediency or impropriety, leaving the various meaſures originating from it, to be diſcuſſed in the periods which produced them.

THE participation which America claimed and enjoyed in the benefits of the Revolution, rendered it merely reaſonable that the colonies ſhould contribute toward the diſcharge of a debt incurred in ſupport of the government, which was to them the ſource of liberty and proſperity. The laſt war was undertaken principally on account of America, and a great part of the debt contracted in that which preceded, had originated in the defence of that country [q]. The practice of impoſing taxes by authority of parliament on the tranſatlantic dominions was not new; it had been uſed ever ſince their eſtabliſhment: not to an extent ſufficient to afford great advantage to the country, but abundantly ſufficient, ſo far as precedent can be required, to ſupport the right of the mother-country to draw pecuniary relief from her dependencies [r]. The principle, at the period of paſſing the reſolutions in parliament, was not deemed open to an objection; and it was conſidered neceſſary, as well as juſt, to realize the advantages which had been promiſed from the colonization and protection of that diſtant continent [s].

[p] Chiefly from Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War, Introduction. See alſo Chalmers's Political Annals. Raynal's Hiſtory of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, book 17 and 18. Morſe's American Geography, &c. &c.

[q] Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 459.

[r] See the Rights of Great Britain aſſerted, p. 102, and the Statutes there enumerated, from 12th Charles II. to 6th George II.: alſo Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. p. 10, and p. 44.

[s] Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 466.

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In oppoſition to the rights of Great Britain, thus ſupported by precedent and every known principle of colonization, certain abſtract propoſitions were aſſumed, and deſcanted on with a violence adapted to a cauſe already ſecure of partizans, and requiring only a plauſible vindication. Among theſe, were the axioms, that in all free ſtates every man is his own legiſlator; that all taxes are free gifts for public ſervices; and that no one community can have any power over the property or legiſlation of another community, that is not incorporated with it by a juſt and adequate repreſentation [1]. Without diſcuſſing the abſtract truth of theſe poſitions, as applied to independent ſtates, it muſt be obvious that, with reſpect to colonies, they can never be founded on general principle, but merely on peculiar and adventitious circumſtances. No man can be raſh enough to aſſert, that when the firſt Britiſh emigrants eſtabliſhed themſelves in Virginia; when their diminutive colony of a hundred, reduced by ſickneſs and the climate to one half of that number, hung with all the weakneſs, and all the ſolicitude of infancy, on the protecting ſupport of the parent land; that then theſe fifty individuals, ſtationed in a deſert and occupied chiefly in the purſuit of food, were defrauded of their privileges as Britiſh ſubjects, becauſe no proviſion was made for their repreſentation in the national councils. When afterward, by numerous emigrations, the coloniſts had acquired a more reſpectable eſtabliſhment; when their charters had given permanence to their poſſeſſions, and the force and wiſdom of the mother-country were liberally exerted in favouring their proſperity; when, as a title to theſe benefits, they induſtriouſly procured the inſertion of a clauſe in their charters, importing that they were ſtill to be conſidered as Engliſhmen; and when, in return for ſuch protection, they ſubmitted to thoſe

[1] Price's Obſervations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, p. 6,—19.

impoſitions

impoſitions which, though not profitable to Great Britain, fully eſtabliſhed the principle of taxation by parliament; at theſe periods no one can aſſert that their rights were invaded, or not duly conſulted[u]. But when the mother-country, exhauſted by a protracted war, looked to its wealthy and flouriſhing colonies for relief; then theſe pleas were advanced, which never were, which never could have been before reſorted to, and which now could only be juſtified by the populouſneſs and ſtrength which America had derived from the protection of Great Britain. The ſame arguments, if true in the abſtract, would equally apply to the Iſle of Man, to Nevis, or the moſt diminutive of the colonies; if the application depended merely on force, they would either ſuppreſs the ſpirit of colonization, or indicate ſo clearly the only means of ſecuring ſubjection, that it would become a rule of policy to abandon coloniſts to their fate, with unſolicitous apathy, or to prevent their future independency by damming up the ſources of proſperity.

SUCH principles had never regulated the practice of the Britiſh Government; and the miniſtry who thought of impoſing a tax on America, could not be expected to foreſee the effects which afterwards reſulted from the attempt. Crown lawyers could only reaſon from the uſage and experience of paſt ages; the cabinet had no other guide: no warning voice raiſed itſelf in the Houſe of Commons: but the meaſure was ſuffered to paſs through in ſilence, as one of thoſe plans of external regulation, which proceeded rather from the executive than the deliberative power, and where concurrence is given without ſteadfaſt examination.

WHATEVER cogency may now be aſcribed to deductions drawn from iſolated propoſitions, in a caſe where ſucceſs is reſorted to as the moſt convincing argument, the right of taxing America ſeemed at this period ſo inconteſtible, that any perſon who before

[u] See Chalmers's Political Annals, chap. ii.

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the meaſures were actually adopted, had inſinuated the poſſibility of oppoſition, would have been derided as the wildeſt of ſpeculiſts. Whether the miniſtry acted wiſely, under all the circumſtances of the times, in their attempt to tax the colonies, will be better gathered from the ſubſequent narrative, and the obſervations to which it gives riſe, than from an accumulation of objections and replies.

Government of Canada.

THE expulſion of the French from North America, which afforded ſo much ſatisfaction to all parties, in the treaty of peace, was, in fact, an error in politics, which ſoon produced its own puniſhment. Canada having been retained as more than equivalent to the conqueſts ceded in the Weſt Indies, government was anxious to prove the choice judicious, by forming ſuch eſtabliſhments as would moſt ſpeedily and effectually produce advantageous returns to the country. The conquered territory was divided into three governments, Quebec, Eaſt Florida, and Weſt Florida [x], each of which had its boundaries preciſely aſſigned, and its functions ſo regulated as to preſent the greateſt probability of eventual benefit. With becoming moderation and prudence, the Britiſh miniſtry did not include great part of the ceded lands in theſe governments; leſt the Indians, who were extremely irritable, ſhould take umbrage at ſeeing their country minutely parcelled out by the coloniſts.

7th Oct. 1763.

Intrigues of the French in Canada.

BUT when the authority of the French ceaſed in Canada, neither their influence nor their enmity left the ſhores. They had always conciliated the good-will of the Indians, in a degree ſuperior to the Engliſh ſettlers. Their eſtabliſhments were military, and their ſpirit of commerce not being ſo extenſive, they had merely participated in the rights of hunting with the natives. The Britiſh Americans, arrogating to themſelves an excluſive poſſeſſion of the territory;

[x] There was beſides a new Weſt India Government, called the Government of Granada, extending over that iſland, the Grenadines, Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Tobago.

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by force, by fraudulent conveyances, and other acts of chicane, grounded on the abuſe of treaties, expelled the Indians not only from their hunting grounds, but even from their homes[y]. The French jeſuits had acquired a conſiderable aſcendancy over the minds of theſe ſavages, and ſoon after the peace, began to exert it to the prejudice of the Britiſh ſettlements.

1763. Indian war.

INSTIGATED by theſe emiſſaries, the Indians preſented ſome well founded complaints of encroachment, and proteſted againſt any title to the lands occupied to their prejudice, which might be derived from deeds, as they had been fraudently obtained. The governors to whom theſe complaints were addreſſed, evinced a diſpoſition to treat them with due attention; but the Indian deputies, after ſtating their grievances, departed, and prepared to commence an extenſive plan of preconcerted hoſtilities. Their project was to aſſemble all their forces, to make an attack on the back ſettlements in harveſt-time, and to complete the ruin of their enemies by fire and indiſcriminate ſlaughter. This enterpriſe failed in part, through the too great ardour of ſome young Indians; but was executed to a dreadful extent, and with a perſeverance and combination which evidently proved they had European adviſers. They ſpread ſuch terror and deſtruction through the back ſettlements, that all the frontier country of Penſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, was deſerted; and by plundering and murdering the itinerant dealers, and intercepting convoys of merchandiſe, did great injury to the trading towns in America. They alſo took ſeveral forts in the Canadian territory, and butchered the garriſons without mercy.

RECOVERING from their conſternation, the Britiſh

[y] See Pownall's Adminiſtration of the Britiſh Colonies, vol. ii. p. 174, 186, et ſeq. And imputations very diſcreditable to the honour and humanity of the Britiſh Americans, in their conduct towards the Indians, are advanced by Dr. Tucker in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to his fifth Tract on American ſubjects.

prepared

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prepared for defence, and ſent reinforcements to ſeveral forts, which were regularly blockaded. The ſavages diſplayed unwonted reſolution and perſeverance: they were well diſciplined, never afforded an eaſy conqueſt, and ſometimes gained the victory, although oppoſed by the ſuperior tactics of European troops. Captain Dalyel, who attacked them near Fort Detroit, was killed, and his detachment compelled to retire; and colonel Bouquet, marching to the relief of Fort Pitt, formerly Fort du Queſne, was furiouſly aſſailed by the ſavages, whom it required all his ſkill and reſolution to repulſe, and though victorious, he was glad to reach the place of his deſtination, after ſacrificing his baggage, and great part of the ſupplies intended for the garriſon. Near the carrying place of Niagara, five hundred Indians ſurrounded an eſcort, and ſlew ſeventy privates, beſide ſerjeants and commiſſioned officers; but notwithſtanding theſe ſucceſſes, when the forts were put in a proper ſtate of defence, all apprehenſion of danger ſubſided.

30th July.

5th Aug.

7th Sept.

GOVERNOR Sir William Johnſon diſplayed great addreſs in detaching the Indians of the ſix nations from the confederacy, and gaining their aſſiſtance againſt thoſe who ſtill perſiſted in hoſtilities. Having ſurrounded and taken priſoners a party of Delaware Indians, he brought the Senecas to terms of peace; and after ſome few inſignificant conteſts with detachments of the other tribes, the flames of war were extinguiſhed [z].

Mar. 1764.

3d April.

Reſolutions for the prevention of ſmuggling.

WHILE this conteſt was raging in America, a regulation made in Great Britain for impoſing a reſtraint on ſmuggling, was extended to their coaſts. The revenue being greatly defrauded by the arts and perſeverance of contraband adventurers, it was judged expedient, at the termination of the war, to

[z] Smollett's complete Hiſtory of England, vol. xvi. p. 264, 409. Bouquet's Hiſtorical Narrative of the Expedition.

put in commiſſion ſeveral ſmall ſhips, with cutters and tenders, which were ſtationed on the different coaſts of Great Britain and Ireland. The commanders were inveſted with powers ſimilar to thoſe delegated to revenue officers, and took the ſame oaths.

In Great Britain and Ireland, where an enlarged ſpirit of commerce produces a juſt ſyſtem of conduct, the diſtinction between the fair merchant and the ſmuggler is ſtrongly maintained, and whatever penalties the illicit trader may incur, he meets neither pity nor countenance from the reſpectable part of the community. In America and the Weſt Indies, the notions were widely different; nor was their judgment entirely founded on ſelfiſhneſs or diſhoneſty. The trade from the Weſt Indies to the Spaniſh ſettlements, although contraband, not only ſupplied the colonies with ſpecie, which could not be derived from Great Britain, but formed a capital market for numerous commodities received from the mother-country, and enabled the North Americans to traffic advantageouſly with the Weſt India iſlands, and to pay in money their taxes and duties. The extent to which the practice of ſmuggling was carried, both in America and the Weſt Indies, was in a certain degree prejudicial to the revenue, and demanded regulation; but the abſolute ſuppreſſion of contraband trade was not conſiſtent with the intereſt of the colonies or of the mother country. Any ſyſtem long and advantageouſly purſued to ſuch an extent as to be ſanctioned by the majority both in numbers and reſpectability, is not to be contemplated as a mere abſtract queſtion of propriety; but the habits, powers, and diſpoſitions of the parties concerned, ſhould be ſtudiouſly examined, and leniently conſidered, in all regulating acts. The powers of government ought alſo to be correctly appreciated, and ſuch meaſures adopted as will not occaſion ſullen diſcontent, or violent and durable oppoſition; and in all caſes, even when poſitive crimes are to be repreſſed, ſuch a line of conduct ſhould be adopted

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adopted as will leave to the ſufferers no juſt ground of complaint.

THE extenſive coaſts of America were peculiarly favourable to the practice of illicit trade; and the diſpoſition of all ranks of men combining with their habits and neceſſities to encourage it, force alone could effect its ſuppreſſion. It may be fairly doubted if force, uſed to deprive an individual of his acquiſition, where no ſhame attends the loſs, is a fit inſtrument of commercial regulation; but where ſuch unpopular means are employed, they ſhould be only intruſted to perſons ſo carefully ſelected as to prevent the imputation of undue exertion. Naval men, though moſt fit in one reſpect, were utterly unqualified in another: the ſpirit of enterprize which made them uſeful in war, rendered them dreadful in peace, and the ſame diſpoſition which conſtituted their glory when employed againſt the enemy, was the foundation of numerous complaints when their aſſiſtance in the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling was extended to America. It was alleged, that the fair and the clandeſtine trader were equally expoſed to violence; that the naval officers were unacquainted with the cuſtom-houſe laws, and therefore made many illegal ſeizures; while the American traders having no redreſs but from England, the tediouſneſs and difficulty of obtaining it, left them, in fact, without relief. The merchants complained of the ſtagnation of commerce, occaſioned by the ſuſpenſion of intercourſe with the Spaniſh ſettlements: an enmity againſt the officers of the navy, originating in their new employ, gained ground, and was aſſiduouſly maintained by the abuſive and inſulting paragraphs which daily iſſued from the preſs.

Effect of the propoſed taxation on the Americans.

WHILE ſuch was the ſtate of the public mind among the inhabitants of America; while the yell of Indian carnage yet was in their ears, and the ſmoke of their ruined habitations before their eyes; their rage and deſpair were further inflamed by the arrival

rival of the Britiſh reſolutions for impoſing taxes. A more unfavourable moment could not have been ſelected. The unaccommodating regulations on trade, gave no hope of compromiſe or evaſion of the new duties. The Americans perceiving in theſe reſolutions the firſt appearance of a general and extenſive plan of taxation, the limits of which being concealed from their ſight, were magnified to their apprehenſion, determined not to wait for the gradual expoſure of the plan to combat it by parts, but to ſtrike at once at the baſis, by denying the right of the mother-country to impoſe taxes on the colonies, which not being repreſented in parliament, did neither really nor virtually conſent to the impoſition. CHAP. VII. 1764.

Conduct of the New England provinces.

In theſe, and all the ſubſequent tranſactions of the American revolution, the New England provinces, and Maſſachuſſets in particular, took the moſt active and leading part. They paſſed reſolutions againſt the propoſed laws, which were tranſmitted to their agents, and to the board of trade, and laid before the privy council [a]. From theſe circumſtances, it has been aſſerted and believed, that the natives had formed, long before this period, a deliberate ſyſtem of ſeparation from Great Britain. This opinion is in part true; but the deſire of independence was limited to perſons ſo inconſiderable, both for number and ſituation, as not to afford reaſonable grounds of apprehenſion. The inhabitants of the Northern provinces never loſt the original inflexibility of their republican anceſtors, nor the captious ſpirit of the ancient ſectaries. So early as 1754, there were men in theſe, and ſome of the other colonies, who held independence in proſpect, and who were determined to ſeize every opportunity of promoting it, and increaſing their numbers [b]. The propoſed taxation afforded theſe malcontents an opportunity of combining the inhabitants of all the colonies in ſuch meaſures as would ultimately favour

11th Dec. 1764.

[a] Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. Introduction.—Almon's Collection of Papers, &c. relative to the war with America, vol. i.

[b] Examination of Joſeph Galloway before the Houſe of Commons, p. 2.—Andrews's Hiſtory of the American War, p. 11.

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their views; and this opportunity they diligently and aſſiduouſly improved. They had now a pretence for appealing to the ſenſe of the country at large againſt the exertion of authority by Great Britain, without hazard of offending the moſt loyal or reſpectable Americans. They eaſily engaged their fellow-citizens to deſiſt from the uſe of thoſe luxuries, with which they had been hitherto ſupplied from the mother-country; and thus uniting the ſpirit of revenge and injury with the plauſible pretexts of economy, eſtabliſhed an effectual, permanent, and extenſive principle of oppoſition and reſiſtance[c].

Dr. Franklin ſent to England.

It was alſo reſolved to ſend Dr. Franklin to England, as agent for America, to exert his talents and influence in defeating the meaſures complained of[d]. This choice of an agent had great effect on the ſubſequent tranſactions of the colonies. Dr. Franklin, bred to the trade of a printer, and at an early period of life obliged to rely on himſelf alone for ſubſiſtence and advancement, was rendered cautious, attentive, and circumſpect. Although his efforts had been rewarded by a competent fortune, and the poſtmaſterſhip of America, he did not reſign himſelf to indolence, but ſtill purſued the employments of his younger years with unabated perſeverance. An affectionate attachment to literature and natural philoſophy, acting upon a bold and ardent genius, rendered him daring and adventurous, but left him all that minute attention and patient calmneſs, which combines trifling accidents and little cauſes in the promotion and perfection of the greateſt deſigns. His eloquence was ſimple, but nervous and commanding, and both in ſpeaking and writing, abounded with thoſe brief apophthegms, which make a forcible impreſſion on the mind, ſubjugate the judgment, and are never eradicated from the memory. The projects of Franklin, which in another would have

His character.

[c] Andrews's Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. p. 36.—Stedman's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 23.—Almon's Collection of Papers, &c. vol. i. p. 5.

[d] Life of Dr. Franklin.

ſeemed

ſeemed exaggerated and prepoſterous, were by him ſo well planned and ſo induſtriouſly purſued, that they never failed to produce the moſt extenſive, and to all but himſelf, unexpected reſults. His fortune, his knowledge, and his great work, the American revolution, are convincing and incontrovertible proofs of the immenſe labours which may be achieved by the union of genius, judgment, and perſeverance.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTH:

1765.

State of Ireland.—Retrospective view of its constitution and government.—State of parties at the King's accession.—Disputes in the cabinet.—Conduct of Lord Halifax, the lord lieutenant.—Outrages of the lower class of people.—The Earl of Northumberland lord lieutenant.—Debates on the pension list.—State of foreign powers.—The French seize and restore Tortuga.—Spain commits irregularities—but makes satisfaction. Affairs of Poland and Russia.—Meeting of the British parliament.—Taxation of America.—Debates on General Warrants.—On informations ex officio.—The Isle of Man annexed to the realm.—Regency act.—Insurrection of silk weavers.—Negotiations for a change of ministry.—Meeting of the ministry in Downing-street, and terms proposed by them to the King.——Rockingham administration formed.—Death of the Duke of Cumberland—and of Prince Frederick.

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State of Ireland.

THE uninterrupted series of events has hitherto prevented a due attention to the affairs of Ireland, which from the beginning of the reign excited an unusual degree of interest. The government of Ireland, as connected with Great Britain, was daily becoming more difficult: an enterprising spirit of liberty on one hand, and an equitable desire to temper the strictness of rule by the mild operation of beneficent laws and usages, on the other, occasioned many perplexed questions of right and policy, and favoured the views of men who aimed, by means of popularity, to attain the heights of political elevation. As the disputes to which their efforts gave birth are of considerable interest, a brief retrospect will be necessary.

Retrospect of the constitution and government,

FROM the first conquest of Ireland to the reign of Henry VII. the intercourse between the countries was not

not eſtabliſhed in a ſyſtem of extenſive and permanent utility: chance and force directed the operations of the crown and of the ſubject, and although the laws of England were declared the rule of government, ſtill the people were but imperfectly reſtrained or protected by them; and no recurrence to the King was neceſſary to ſanction the laws which originated in Ireland.

THIS anomaly in legiſlation was productive of much inconvenience and oppreſſion; and Sir Edward Poynings, lord deputy in the tenth year of Henry VII. framed, at the requeſt of the parliament and the people, the celebrated ſtatutes known by his name. That part which related to the formation of laws, ordained that, before a parliament ſhould be convened, the chief governor and council ſhould certify to the King, under the great ſeal, the conſideration and cauſes, and the articles of the acts to be propoſed: and when the King in council ſhould have approved or altered ſuch acts, and returned them certified, under the great ſeal, with permiſſion to ſummon a parliament, then the acts ſo certified, and no others, might be propoſed, received, or rejected in the Iriſh Senate.

THIS act gave ſtability to the conſtitution, facilitated the intercourſe between the Sovereign and the ſubject, and reconciled the different views of the two nations, by preventing precipitate determinations on their mutual or peculiar intereſts; but as its reſtrictions were found too ſevere in precluding the framing of any law ſuggeſted after the ſitting of parliament, a ſtatute of 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, c. iv. enacted, that new propoſitions might be certified to England in the uſual forms, even after the ſummons and during the ſeſſion of parliament[a]. Thus, a beneficial relaxation took place; the parliament aſſembled if a ſingle bill

[a] See Lord Montmorres's Hiſtory of the Iriſh Parliament, vol. i. p. 47. et ſeq. Hiſtory of the Political Connexion between England and Ireland, p 92. Hume's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 367. Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 99, and Chriſtian's Note on this part of Blackſtone, p. 103.

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was forwarded to England, and the heads of ſubſequent ſtatutes were tranſmitted during the ſeſſion [b].

FROM this period, the benefits of the Britiſh conſtitution were rapidly extended to Ireland, till the rebellion in the reign of Charles I. and the cruel maſſacres and confiſcations which took place during the commonwealth. At the reſtoration Charles II. generouſly waved his right to the forfeited lands, and the parliament of Ireland, in grateful return, veſted the revenue, which was in general fully ſufficient to anſwer all exigencies, in the crown for ever.

THE bill uſually ſent over from Ireland to the King in council, was a money bill; and the practice was ſo generally adopted, as to be conſidered merely of courſe. Once only an attempt was made, in a critical period of the Engliſh hiſtory, to impede the operations of government by a popular pretext of exerting the conſtitutional right of the Houſe of Commons to hold the national purſe. This was four years after the Revolution [c], when Lord Sydney, chief governor of Ireland, was ſent over for the purpoſe of holding a parliament to regulate the affairs of that kingdom, which had fallen into great diſorder. The parliament was ſummoned in the uſual manner, according to Poynings's law: ſeveral bills were tranſmitted from the governor and council to England, and returned under the great ſeal, two of which were bills of ſupply. One of them granting an additional exciſe was paſſed, but before the firſt reading, the houſe came to reſolutions: That it was the undoubted right of the Commons of Ireland, in parliament aſſembled, to prepare the ways and means of raiſing money; that it was the ſole and undoubted right of the Commons to prepare heads of a bill for raiſing money; and that, notwithſtanding the aforeſaid rights of the Commons they thought fit, in conſideration of the preſent exigencies of affairs, and the public neceſſity of ſpeedily

[b] Lord Montmorres, ubi ſup. [c] In 1692.

raiſing

raiſing a ſupply for Their Majeſties, to order a bill tranſmitted out of England, intitled, "An act for an additional exciſe," &c. to be read, but that it ſhould not be drawn into precedent. The other bill, "For granting to Their Majeſties certain duties for "one year," was rejected, and a reſolution entered on the journals, ſtating as a reaſon that it did not take its riſe in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons.

LORD SYDNEY, conſidering the conſtitution violated by this proceeding, ſoon afterward prorogued the parliament, having firſt animadverted on their proceedings with conſiderable ſeverity, and entered a proteſt againſt them on the journals. The judges, both of Ireland and England, on a ſolemn conſultation, declared the claim of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons unfounded in law.

THIS parliament never ſat again; but a new legiſlature fully recognized the right againſt which their predeceſſors had contended. The practice of paſſing money bills tranſmitted by the privy council, and returned from England, was afterward invariably followed, according to the principle implicitly recognized by the Iriſh parliament, in a note to the lord deputy, entered on the journals of the Houſe of Commons, the 29th of November 1614, in theſe terms: "The Houſe of Commons, acknowledging the ſole "power and authority to tranſmit ſuch bills as are to "be propounded in Parliament to reſt in the lord "deputy and council, do only deſire to be as re-"membrancers unto his lordſhip and the reſt, touch-"ing the acts following, which they humbly offer "as meet to be tranſmitted with ſuch other acts as "his lordſhip and council ſhall think fit to be pro-"pounded in the next ſeſſion."

THE principle thus acknowledged was not ſoon again brought into diſpute; but during the reign of George I. a turbulent oppoſition in Ireland gave great embarraſſment to the miniſtry, and in the affair of

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Wood's patent for the coinage of copper[d], completely triumphed over the exertions of government. In this conteſt, the Britiſh miniſter, Sir Robert Walpole, was highly ſenſible of the diſadvantage accruing to government from permitting the important offices of lord primate and lord chancellor to be occupied by natives; and therefore when Lord Middleton reſigned the great ſeal, Weſt, an Engliſhman, was appointed in his ſtead; the ſituation of lord primate being already filled by Boulter, Biſhop of Briſtol, an Engliſhman, who had been appointed on the death of Linſay, in 1724.

THIS prudent arrangement gave an appearance of unanimity in the proceedings of government, till the appointment of Dr. Stone[e] to the primacy in 1747; ſoon after which a conteſt for power between him and Mr. Henry Boyle, ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, and afterward Earl of Shannon, embroiled the cabinet.

RESIDENCE was not at that period a part of the lord lieutenant's duty, and therefore, except on urgent occaſions, the public buſineſs was tranſacted under the auſpices of great men in office, who held a commiſſion as lords juſtices.

MR. BOYLE was a man whoſe underſtanding, naturally of the firſt claſs, was improved by a long acquaintance with the laws of his country, and whoſe experience was matured by having long ſuſtained a prominent part in the conduct of public affairs: the number of his friends was augmented, and their adherence ſecured by his affable manners, and the honourable inflexibility of his attachment. Dr. Stone,

[d] In 1725.

[e] The Reverend George Stone, D.D. was brother of Andrew Stone, confidential ſecretary to the Duke of Newcaſtle, and by his Grace's intereſt was appointed Dean of Derry, biſhop of Fernes in 1740, and after ſucceſſive tranſlations to the ſees of Killaloe and Derry, was raiſed to the primacy.

who

who roſe to his dignity under the patronage of the Duke of Newcaſtle, united a ſupple, inſinuating addreſs with a preſumptuous mind, and inſatiable ambition. He was deſirous immediately to ſeize the reins of power, which Mr. Boyle, who maintained his pre-eminence with firmneſs and dignity, was unwilling to reſign. CHAP. VIII.

In 1751, the Duke of Dorſet was appointed lord lieutenant; and he, acting under the influence of the Duke of Newcaſtle, in ſupport of Dr. Stone, formed a new junto, of which he was the oſtenſible leader. This innovation convulſed the cabinet; and the rage of party extending itſelf over the whole nation, almoſt every individual ranged himſelf on one or the other ſide. The talents and exertions of Mr. Boyle were ſufficient to embarraſs the proceedings of government, and on one queſtion, in 1753, he ſucceeded in obtaining a majority againſt the miniſtry; but perhaps his influence was leſs conſpicuous in this advantage, than in preventing the numbers which were not greatly in his favour[f], from being inſerted on the journals. On this occaſion, he was diſmiſſed, with all his adherents.

These diſſenſions, however, ſo impaired the energy of government, that the Marquis of Hartington, afterward Duke of Devonſhire, who was appointed lord lieutenant in 1755, effected a compromiſe with Boyle, whoſe friends were re-inſtated in their offices, and himſelf, in 1756, advanced to the peerage, with the title of Earl of Shannon. The primate being thus in a ſort of diſgrace, made overtures to his rival, and a coalition was effected.

In 1757, the Duke of Bedford was appointed lord lieutenant. He found the Houſe of Commons principally governed by certain individuals of family and influence, who returning a majority of members, were enabled to make their own terms with govern-

[f] 122 to 117.

ment,

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ment, and were diſtinguiſhed by the name of parliamentary undertakers *. During the Duke's adminiſtration a new party aroſe in the Houſe of Commons, who arrogated to themſelves the title of The Patriots. It was formed, in general, of men of moderate fortune, but extenſive ambition, of middle rank, and great abilities. They profeſſed a decided antipathy to government, and to the overbearing authority of the undertakers, and occaſionally lent their aid to one or the other party, as beſt ſuited their views of diminiſhing the power of each. When government was at variance with the undertakers, they ranged on the ſide of government; but finding themſelves abandoned, and the opponents readily received into favour, they entered into open hoſtilities with both.

As the hereditary revenue granted to the crown, would, if diſcreetly managed, have been ſufficient to anſwer all the neceſſary charges of ſtate, the patriots, ſenſible that their cauſe would be effectually promoted by ſubjecting the ſervants of the crown to fiſcal embarraſſments, made their chief effort to load this revenue with charges, under plauſible pretences. For this purpoſe, during the adminiſtration of the Duke of Bedford, they paſſed an act for granting a bounty on corn and flour brought by land carriage to Dublin, which, while it anſwered their great political intent, was a gratifying job in favour of landed men in diſtant counties. Whether through treachery, ſupineneſs, or the fear of oppoſing ſo popular a meaſure as that of ſupplying the capital with proviſions, the undertakers lent their aid, and the lord lieutenant was, at length, induced to ſanction the bill. In ordinary years, this bounty amounted to 50,000l. but in great harveſts to a much larger ſum. The Duke of Bedford, ſenſible of the diminution which would thus be effected in the revenue, was deſirous to limit

* See a Philoſophical Survey of the South of Ireland by Dr. John Watkinſon, p. 57.

the

the duration of its proviſions to a term of years; but the popularity of the meaſure, and the urgent inſtances of its promoters, induced him to grant it his ſupport. They alſo promiſed to eſtabliſh a fund to repair the deficiency in the permanent revenue; but when they had attained the deſired object, never thought it neceſſary to fulfil their engagement. This bounty was capable of becoming extremely embarraſſing to government, as it was not payable out of the treaſury, but out of the revenues *in tranſitu* in the hands of the collector of cuſtoms in the port of Dublin.

Conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer.

AT the acceſſion of the King, the primate, Lord Shannon, and Mr. Ponſonby, ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, were lords juſtices; the lord lieutenant had reſided only one year; the lords juſtices governed the country according to their own views, and regulated every department without controul. They now attempted to obtain popularity, by introducing a new practice, and were joined in this effort by Mr. Malone, chancellor of the exchequer, who in oppoſition had been highly popular, and reſolved to embrace this opportunity of regaining the influence over the public mind, which he had loſt by accepting a miniſterial ſituation. The privy council being aſſembled, a doubt was ſuddenly ſuggeſted on the propriety of ſending over a money bill, as the rejection of it by the Iriſh Houſe of Commons was anticipated, which would occaſion the diſſolution of the new parliament, and thus give riſe to much diſſatisfaction: in ſupport of this opinion, a ſtanding order of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons made in the year 1727 was cited. As the lord chancellor (Lord Bowes) had been previouſly referred to, and given his opinion that, according to cuſtom, a money bill ſhould be ſent, this objection was in fact a ſurpriſe. It was obviouſly a mere attempt to gain popularity; but as a ſtrong party in the council ſupported the objection, it became neceſſary for the chancellor and his friends to

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maintain their opinion. Debates were carried on with great virulence, and party rancour inflamed to its higheſt pitch. The popular junto at length prevailed ſo far as to alter the eſtabliſhed uſage, by ſending a bill, not for a ſupply to the King, but relating to a vote of credit for Ireland. This was open to every objection which applied to the uſual bill, and was beſides, unneceſſary, as the appropriated duties already voted by parliament, would not expire till December 1761 [a].

Arrival and conduct of Lord Halifax as lord lieutenant.

In this poſition of affairs, the Duke of Bedford was recalled, and ſucceeded by the Earl of Halifax. The exalted character of this nobleman, his integrity, independence, and intrepidity, warranted ſanguine expectations of a vigorous and ſucceſsful adminiſtration. On his arrival, he received the uſual compliments with dignified graciouſneſs, and his deportment, joined to the reputation of his talents, inſtantly gained a degree of popularity which his ſubſequent conduct enabled him to retain [b]. He met the parliament with a judicious and ſenſible ſpeech, in which he ſtrongly recommended unanimity, and forbearance of public heats and private animoſities. He ſecured his popularity by earneſtly enforcing the neceſſity of attending to the natural advantages of the country, agriculture, and the linen manufactory, and recommending a proper regard to the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, by encouraging the charter ſchools.

6th Oct. 1761.

22d Oct.

While he perſevered in this line of conduct, there was no probability that he would become ſubſervient to the views of any party; an inſidious attempt was therefore made to diminiſh his reputation for independence, by a reſolution carried in the committee of accounts, and afterward paſſed in parliament. It ſtated the annual appointments of the lord lieutenant to be inadequate to the dignity of the

26th Feb. 1762.

[a] Lord Bowes' Letters to Dodington.
[b] Letter from Lord Bowes to Mr. Dodington, 16th Oct. 1761.

office

office, and the Houſe therefore requeſted His Majeſty to grant ſuch an augmentation as would make them amount to ſixteen thouſand pounds. The liberality of this vote claimed the thanks of Lord Halifax, he applauded the motives on which it was founded, but ſaid, as it had been his duty, in the courſe of the ſeſſion, to propoſe plans attended with great public expence, and to enforce economy, he could not, without pain, ſubmit that the eſtabliſhment, already burthened in conſequence of his ſuggeſtions, ſhould be further charged for his particular profit: but while he diſclaimed the application of their liberality to himſelf, he recommended that the augmentation ſhould be proviſionally made, and conferred on his ſucceſſor. This dignified and manly conduct diſarmed faction; the buſineſs of the ſeſſion proceeded with uninterrupted harmony; liberal votes were paſſed reſpecting the ſeveral objects mentioned in His Excellency's ſpeech [i], and he declared himſelf perfectly ſatisfied with his ſituation, ſuperior to party, and reſolved that the King's authority ſhould not ſuffer in his hands [k]. CHAP. VIII.

THE internal tranquillity of Ireland was diſturbed by a band of deſperadoes, ſometimes called Levellers, from their levelling the walls and ditches under pretence of reſtoring the commons to the poor; and at other times White Boys, from wearing a ſhirt or white garment over their cloaths. The union of theſe banditti was ſecured, and the increaſe of their numbers favoured, by oaths of ſecreſy, and by wreaking their vengeance on thoſe who refuſed to concur in their meaſures. They continued to haraſs government for many years, and the civil and military power were alternately employed againſt them in vain. Outrages of the lower claſs of people.

LORD HALIFAX was ſucceeded in the vice-royalty 1763.

[i] See proceedings of the Iriſh parliament in the different periodical publications.

[k] Letters from Lord Halifax to Lord Melcombe.

of

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of Ireland by the Earl of Northumberland. The insurgents in different parts of the kingdom, and even in Dublin, increaſing to an alarming degree, and committing many dreadful atrocities, a committee
31ſt Oct. was inſtituted by the Houſe of Commons to examine into the cauſes of their outrages; but the inquiry produced no beneficial effects. Lord Shannon was now grown old, and appeared deſirous only of repoſe; the primate was united with the lord lieutenant, and the ſpeaker ſtill acted in general under his influence.

Diſcuſſions on the penſion liſt.

BUT although this diſpoſition in the leaders of the parliamentary undertakers appeared to promiſe tranquillity, the violence of party continued to augment; and among other topics of popular invective, the penſions on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment furniſhed a conſtant theme of cenſure. A copy of the penſion liſt was obtained, and became the ſubject of virulent diſcuſſion in both kingdoms; it was deſcribed as a never-failing ſource of undue influence and corruption. A motion made in the Houſe of Commons to addreſs the King for a writ of *ſcire facias*, to inquire into the legality of the patent by which the office of chancellor of the exchequer was held, was loſt, but the amount of the penſions was continually deſcanted on; and one of a thouſand pounds, granted in the name of George Charles, but in fact paid to M. de Viri, the Sardinian ambaſſador, for his ſervices in the negociation for peace, was ſelected as a peculiar topic of diſapprobation. Mr. (afterward Lord) Pery, in an able ſpeech, moved for an addreſs. He ſtated the increaſe of penſions ſince the reign of George I., and the augmentation of that and the military eſtabliſhment ſince the year 1756, which had been more than doubled. The arguments on the other ſide tended to prove that the kingdom of Ireland had ſcarcely ſuffered by the war, while her territory and commerce had been protected at the expence of Great Britain, and therefore it was reaſonable to apply her funds

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funds in time of peace to relieve the burthens of England. The motion was loſt on a diviſion; and a loyal addreſs carried in both houſes, expreſſing diſapprobation of the daily libels, which violated every rule of decency, order, and government, and tended to excite a ſpirit of diſcontent and diſobedience to their Sovereign, the laws, and the conſtitution [l]. 20th Dec.

ALTHOUGH the efforts of oppoſition failed in parliament, the public mind was violently agitated. The inſurgents, under various names, as Levellers, White Boys, Oak Boys, Hearts of Steel, continued their exceſſes, and directed their perſecutions againſt all who, by exacting or paying tythes in kind, became obnoxious to them; and in many parts of the kingdom the fields were deſerted. In Dublin, the topics which agitated the metropolis of Great Britain found an equal intereſt; the guild of merchants voted their freedom to Mr. Pratt, afterward Lord Camden, and the corporation preſented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box [m]. Agitation of the public. 20th Jan. 1764.

THE European powers, whoſe conduct was likely to affect Great Britain, preſented no appearances which could afford ſerious diſquietude. The French King immerſed in ſenſuality, and incapable of providing reſources for the numerous debts which ſwallowed up his revenues, was obliged to employ thoſe arbitrary acts of injuſtice which ſhew the weakneſs of government, and tend rapidly to its deſtruction. The diſputes between the crown and the parliaments were now ariſing, which afterward begat a ſpirit of poli- State of foreign powers.

[l] Debates of the Iriſh Parliament, Smollett's Hiſtory of England, vol. xvi. p. 282 et ſeq.; Inquiry into the Legality of Penſions, by Alexander M'Aulay; Thoughts on the Penſion Liſt of Ireland, with the liſt annexed;—and many other publications.

[m] In this view of the affairs of Ireland, beſides the authorities cited, and the ordinary ſources of intelligence, I have been furniſhed with much intereſting private information.—This note ſtood in the firſt and ſecond editions of this work. The private information on which I principally relied, was a ſtatement drawn up by the late Earl of Macartney, and printed for the uſe of his own friends, under the title of "Extract from an account of Ireland in 1773, by a late chief ſecretary of that kingdom." Since the death of his lordſhip the pamphlet has been publiſhed, together with his life, by Mr. Barrow. See vol. ii. p. 97.

tical

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tical diſputation, productive in the end of the moſt baleful effects.

The French ſeize Tortuga, 1ſt June;

SOME events, however, in the courſe of the year, ſeemed to threaten the tranquillity of Great Britain. A French ſhip of ſixty-four guns, and three ſmaller veſſels, ſuddenly appeared before Tortuga, or Turks Iſland, an inconſiderable poſſeſſion in the Weſt Indies, valuable only for its ſalt ponds, took the Engliſh inhabitants priſoners, and aſſumed poſſeſſion of the place. The intelligence of this unjuſtifiable attack occaſioned a great ſenſation in London; but the

but reſtore it.

court of Verſailles, on a repreſentation by the Britiſh ambaſſador, diſavowed the proceedings in the moſt explicit manner, and promiſed an honourable indemnification, the terms of which were to be adjuſted by the French governor of St. Domingo and the Britiſh governor of Jamaica. Some jealouſies were entertained that the French had encroached on Newfoundland, and were fortifying St. Pierre, contrary to the treaty of peace; but on inquiry they proved to be unfounded.

Spain commits irregularities;

COMPLAINTS were alſo made of the Spaniſh governors, for interrupting the Britiſh logwood cutters, and of a Spaniſh commodore, for the ſeizure

but makes ſatisfaction.

of an Engliſh ſhip in the Mediterranean; but in both caſes ample and immediate ſatisfaction was afforded.

Affairs of Poland;

THE King of Pruſſia, whom the defection of England had left without an ally, was anxious not to offend the Houſe of Auſtria, and at the ſame time,

3d April.

deſirous to ſtrengthen his intereſt by new connexions; he therefore made no efforts to prevent the Archduke Joſeph from being elected King of the Romans, and preſſed the completion of a treaty with Ruſſia. The

Oct. 5th, 1763.

death of Auguſtus III. opened new views to the ambitious mind of Catharine, who determined to ſecure her aſcendancy in Poland, by raiſing her favourite, Count Staniſlaus Poniatowſky, to the throne. With great dexterity ſhe precluded the interpoſition of France

and

and Auſtria, and prevailed on Frederick to ſecond her views, by concluding a treaty of guaranty and alliance, offenſive and defenſive: the Empreſs and the King of Pruſſia jointly engaged to prevent the crown of Poland from becoming hereditary, and by a ſecret convention, the King covenanted to promote the election of Staniſlaus Poniatowſky. All oppoſition being ſuppreſſed by the entrance of the Ruſſian troops into Poland, and the march of the Pruſſians to the frontiers, the election took place. CHAP. VIII. Mar. 1764.

THE Poliſh nobility enjoyed a privilege called *liberum veto*, by which a ſingle nobleman was enabled to ſtop the deliberations of the diet, and even diſſolve it. To avoid the impediments which might ariſe from the exerciſe of this right, the aſſembly convened for the election of a king, was changed into a diet of confederation, in which the liberum veto was ſuſpended, and the queſtions were decided by a majority of voices [n]. Poniatowſky was not choſen by the Poles on his firſt nomination, without conſiderable oppoſition; the violation of their ancient rights, occaſioned a ſtrong proteſt, which was ſigned by twenty-two ſenators and forty-five nuncios; ſome of them even took up arms, but were defeated by the Ruſſian troops. Another confederation for the final election being aſſembled, Poniatowſky was unanimouſly choſen, and crowned by the name of Staniſlaus Auguſtus [o]. 7th May. 3d July. 7th Sept.

A political event which occurred this year in Ruſſia, although it did not affect the ſtate of Great Britain, is yet too intereſting to be paſſed over in ſilence. Ivan Antonovitch, grandſon of Ivan V., joint heir of the crown of Ruſſia with Peter the Great, was conſidered at the death of the Empreſs Anne, undoubted ſucceſſor to the empire. His infancy favoured the and Ruſſia.

[n] For an account of the conſtitution of the Poliſh diet, the liberum veto, and mode of electing a king, ſee Coxe's Travels in Poland, &c. vol. i. c. v. and vi.

[o] Œuvres du Roi de Pruſſe, vol. iv. p 169 et ſeq. Life of Catharine II. vol. i. c. iv. Wraxall's Memoirs of the courts of Berlin, &c. vol. ii. letters 19 and 20.

CHAP. III. 1764.

ambitious projects of Elizabeth, who depoſed him when only a year old. He was afterwards removed from one place of confinement to another, according to the dictates of fear or convenience, till at length he was lodged in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburg, in a ſmall vaulted priſon where the light of day never entered. Two officers were placed in the room as a guard, and they were for ſome time forbid to converſe with him, even to anſwer the ſlighteſt queſtion. He was kept in a ſtate of ignorance, ſo deplorable as to give room for a report that he was an idiot; yet his claim to the throne was the ſource of many conſpiracies. It was ſaid, that the late Emperor viſited him in priſon, and, convinced of the injuſtice done to his underſtanding, and the validity of his claim to the throne, promiſed to make him his ſucceſſor. The inſecurity of Catherine's title gave ſufficient encouragement to plots, and formed a reaſonable baſis for alarm and extraordinary precaution; and theſe ſentiments received a new impulſe from the detection of a conſpiracy in the ſummer of 1764. Although there was no appearance that the Prince had countenanced this attempt, it was judged neceſſary to order his guards, in caſe of a dangerous inſurrection, to put him inſtantly to death. One Vaſſily Mirovitch, ſecond lieutenant in a regiment, part of which was in garriſon at the tower of Schluſſelburg, having formed a wild project of reſcuing the Prince from captivity, and placing him on the throne, corrupted about fifty of his ſoldiers, and made an aſſault on the priſon, with ſome appearance of ſucceſs. The conſpirators had ſecured the governor, and were going to force the door of Ivan's dungeon, when it was thrown open, and Mirovitch permitted to enter unmoleſted. The officers placed with the Prince had conſulted together on the emergency, and thinking themſelves unable effectually to oppoſe the inſurgents, embraced the dreadful alternative with which they were entruſted. Their unfortunate victim was aſleep; but being waked by the noiſe of firing

firing, and hearing the threats of his two aſſailants, endeavoured to move them with prayers and entreaties. Finding theſe ineffectual, he gathered ſtrength and courage from deſpair, made a vigorous reſiſtance, ſeized one of their ſwords and broke it: during the ſtruggle, the other ſtabbed him behind, and threw him down; he who had loſt his ſword, now plunged his bayonet into the Prince's body, and both repeated their blows till he expired. Such was the ſpectacle which ſaluted the eyes of Mirovitch when he entered the dungeon. He was ſtruck with horror, and no longer thought of ſelf-preſervation, but yielded up his ſword to the governor, who was yet his priſoner, exclaiming, that he had now nothing to do but die. The conſpirators were tried before the ſenate: Mirovitch was ſentenced to death and executed; the inferior agents were doomed to different degrees of puniſhment proportioned to their activity in the enterprize. The fermentation of the public mind on the death of Ivan, ſhewed that Catharine's fears of a ſucceſsful inſurrection were not ill-founded, and ſome authors have endeavoured, though without the leaſt apparent foundation, to prove that the whole tranſaction was a ſcheme of the Empreſs, and that ſhe ſacrificed her engines to her own reputation [p].

CHAP. VIII. 1764.

26th Sept.

THE events on the continent furniſhed the leading topics of the King's ſpeech to parliament. He inferred from them that the nation had reaſon to expect the duration of that peace which had been ſo happily eſtabliſhed, and which it was his reſolution ſtrictly to maintain. In alluſion to the ſtate of America, and the project of taxing that part of the Britiſh dominions, His Majeſty ſaid, "The experience I have had of your former conduct, makes me rely on your wiſdom and firmneſs in promoting that obedience to the laws, and reſpect to the legiſlative authority of this kingdom, which is eſſentially neceſſary for the ſafety of the whole;

10th Jan. 1765. Meeting of Parliament.

[p] See Life of Catherine II. vol. i. chap. 1 and 4, and Appendix, No. x. Coxe's Travels in Poland, &c. vol. iii.

CHAP. VIII. and in eſtabliſhing ſuch regulations as may beſt connect and ſtrengthen every part of my dominions for their mutual benefit and ſupport."

1764. Taxation of America. THE miniſtry made an offer to the Americans, that any other mode of contributing the ſum intended to be raiſed would be accepted, and the ſtamp duty laid aſide; but the colonial agents rejected this accommodating propoſal, replying, that they were ordered to oppoſe the bill, if brought into the houſe, by petitions, queſtioning the right claimed by parliament to tax the colonies. They were, in fact, eager to enter into a diſcuſſion of the principle in diſpute, and not to permit any compromiſe. The miniſter was determined not to recede from the claim of the Britiſh legiſlature to impoſe and aſcertain the quantum of taxation; but he was willing to leave the mode of contribution to the deciſion of thoſe who were to contribute [q].

1765. 5th Feb. FIFTY-FIVE reſolutions of the committee of ways and means were agreed to by the Houſe, and afterwards incorporated into an act of parliament for laying nearly the ſame ſtamp duties on the colonies in America as were payable in England. This act paſſed the Houſe of Commons almoſt without debate, two or three members ſpoke againſt it, but without force or apparent intereſt, except a vehement harangue from Colonel Barre, who in reply to an obſervation of Mr. Grenville, in which he deſcribed the Americans as children of our own, planted by our care, nouriſhed by our indulgence; ſaid, "Children planted by your care! No! your oppreſſion planted them in America; they fled from your tyranny, into a then uncultivated land, where they were expoſed to almoſt all hardſhips to which human nature is liable, and yet, actuated by principles of true Engliſh liberty, they met all theſe hardſhips with pleaſure, compared to thoſe they ſuffered in their own country, from the

[q] Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 5. Remembrancer, vol. iii. p. 253. See alſo Burke's Works, 4to. vol. i. p. 365, 545.

hands

hands of thoſe who ſhould have been their friends. They nouriſhed by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them: as ſoon as you began to care about them, that care was exerciſed in ſending perſons to rule over them, who were, perhaps, the deputies of ſome deputy, ſent to ſpy out their liberty, to miſrepreſent their actions, and to prey upon them; men, whoſe behaviour, on many oocaſions, has cauſed the blood of thoſe ſons of liberty to recoil within them. They protected by your arms! they have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted their valour amidſt their conſtant and laborious induſtry, for the defence of a country, whoſe frontiers, while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded all its little ſavings to your enlargement; and the ſame ſpirit which actuated that people at firſt, will continue with them ſtill; but prudence forbids me to explain myſelf further."

CHAP. VIII. 1765.

THERE was but one diviſion during the progreſs of the bill, and then the minority did not amount to more than forty[r]. The petitions preſented againſt it, although recommended by an order of council, were not attended to[s], and the houſe refuſed to receive four from the agents of Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, Virginia, and Carolina, and one from the traders of Jamaica[t]. In the Houſe of Lords the act paſſed without debate, diviſion; or proteſt[u]; and having thus received the ſanction of both houſes, was ratified by the Royal aſſent.

15th Feb.

22d Mar.

EARLY in the ſeſſion, an attempt was made to obtain a reſolution of the Houſe of Commons on the illegality of general warrants; but after a long and violent debate, the queſtion was loſt by a majority of

29th Jan. Debates on general warrants. 4th Mar.

[r] Burke's Works, 4to. vol i. p. 559. It is to be obſerved, Colonel Barre's ſpeech above quoted is not preſerved in Debrett's Parliamentary Collection; and Burke avers, that he ſat in the gallery during the progreſs of the bill, *and never heard a more languid debate.* See Burke's Works, ubi ſup.

[s] Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 366.

[t] Idem, p. 547.

[u] Idem, p. 559.

CHAP. VIII.

1765.

forty only[x]. Another motion of a popular nature, for restraining the practice of filing informations *ex officio* by the Attorney General, was also negatived.

On informations *ex officio*.

The Isle of Man annexed to the realm.

It was found expedient for the prevention of frauds committed by smugglers, to annex the Isle of Man to the realm. This small territory formed a domain of a singular tenure: it was part of the crown, but not of the realm of England: it was under the allegiance of the King, but governed by its own laws and customs. In these respects it resembled Jersey and Guernsey; but in those islands the King appointed governors, and retained the jurisdiction of the admiralty; the superintendence of civil justice vested in the King in council, and he could prosecute a suit in his own name in any of the courts of England; in a word, the prerogatives, royalties, and jurisdiction of those islands vested in the crown, and the writs from the superior courts at Westminster were allowed to operate in them. But in the Isle of Man the King had no courts, no officers; and no suits arising there, whether at the instance of the party or of the crown, were determinable in England. It was even doubted if the great prerogative or mandatory writs, which issue to all places under subjection to the crown of England, would be valid there[z]. This singular inheritance had been for nearly four centuries vested by parliamentary charter, in the family of the Duke of Athol.

21st Jan.

In pursuance of an order of the lower house, the chancellor of the exchequer introduced a bill for more effectually preventing the mischiefs arising to the revenue, from the illicit trade to and from the Isle of Man, by which the island was intended to

[x] 24 to 184—Debrett's Collection of Debates, vol. iv. p. 249. This debate caused a considerable sensation out of the House, and a hand bill was circulated, in which an eminent lawyer was asserted to have said, "I think it better to fill [illegible] the law than to rise on the ruins of them." Gentleman's Magazine, 1[illegible], p. 94.

[y] Fonb[illegible]

[z] The [illegible] of a prerogative writ having been sent and returned [illegible] there is no officer to whom it could be directed.

be

be ſubjected entirely to the revenue laws of England. CHAP. VIII.

1765.

BEFORE the ſecond reading of the bill, the noble proprietor and his ducheſs preſented a moderate and energetic petition: after ſtating their reluctance to diſunite from the honours of their family, this ancient and princely patrimony, the reward of the ſervices and monument of the virtues of their anceſtors, they threw themſelves with dutiful ſubmiſſion on the pleaſure of their ſovereign, and the diſpoſal of parliament, and only requeſted ſuch a compenſation, as the importance of the ſacrifice to themſelves, and of the acquiſition to the nation, ſhould ſeem to demand. They were heard by council, and in conſequence of a communication with government, it was thought adviſeable that the iſland ſhould be reveſted in the crown. The ſum of ſeventy thouſand pounds was given as a compenſation; and a bill was paſſed, whereby the whole iſle, with all its juriſdictions, intereſts, and dependencies, was veſted in the crown, reſerving only to the proprietors their landed property and rights in and over the ſoil, as lords of the manor, together with the patronage of the biſhopric, and other eccleſiaſtical benefices in the iſland[a]. This act was immediately followed by one for protecting the revenue. 13th Feb. 6th Mar.

DURING the ſeſſion, the King was attacked by an alarming illneſs: on his recovery, in a ſpeech from the throne, he propoſed to the conſideration of parliament the expediency of veſting in him the power of appointing, from time to time, by inſtruments under his ſign manual, either the Queen or any other perſon of the royal family uſually reſiding in Great Britain, to be guardian of his ſucceſſor and regent of the kingdom, under proper reſtrictions, till the ſucceſſor ſhould attain the age of eighteen. Regency act. 24th April.

[a] See Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 105.—I have been aſſiſted in this account by ſome accurate private information, and am indebted to the ſame perſon for the appendix, which contains a more clear and ample detail of the ancient ſtate of the Iſle of Man.

CHAP. VIII. 1765. 6th May.

To this speech a loyal address was returned, and a bill passed the House of Lords, framed according to the terms of the King's proposition. In the House of Commons, a motion was made for an address requiring the King specifically to name the person or persons to whom, in case of his decease, he would leave the care of his successor, and the regency of the kingdom. They who supported the motion alleged, that it was not warranted by precedent, or agreeable to the principles of the constitution, to vest those important offices in any person not particularly named and approved of in parliament. This motion being negatived, a question was raised on the construction of the words, "or any other of the royal family." The answer given and sanctioned by the ministry was, that it meant the descendants of George II. Such an interpretation having an obvious tendency to exclude the princess dowager of Wales, could not be supposed agreeable to the King; and on the next reading of the bill, the name of the princess was expressly inserted as an amendment. The debate on this occasion was so violent and acrimonious, that the friends of the princess did not think proper to produce another motion for enabling her to be one of the council of regency. The bill thus amended was returned to the lords, and passed, though not without opposition [b].

9th.

[illegible]th. Insurrection of silk weavers.

On the day when the King in person gave his assent to the regency bill, a mob of journeymen silk-weavers went to St. James's, with black flags, for the purpose of petitioning for relief, under pretence that they were reduced to a state of famine by the encouragement of French silks. They behaved in a most tumultuous manner, surrounding both houses of parliament, and insulting many of the members. They again assembled on the two following days, [illegible] proceeded to commit other outrages; but were

[illegible] he same [illegible] of the [illegible] parliament was prorogued the 25th of May. The debates are not detailed [illegible] ctory manner in any publication.

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at length repreſſed by the poſſe comitatus and the military who were called in to aid the civil power. A proclamation was iſſued for the ſuppreſſion of riots, and ſome of the parties were brought to condign puniſhment. CHAP. VIII. 1765.

THE miniſtry had never been popular; and they had now perceptibly loſt the King's confidence: their conduct on the regency act betrayed an inclination, if not to oppoſe, at leaſt not to favour the inclinations of the ſovereign. It is even averred, that ſeveral poſts of honour and emolument were beſtowed in oppoſition to their advice, and without their knowledge, which produced offenſive remonſtrances, in conſequence of which the King, by the recommendation of Lord Bute, determined to diſmiſs them [c]. This account forms part of the fable of Lord Bute's ſecret influence, which was ſo long implicitly believed, and which ſtill affords an eaſy ſolution of every political problem, for which no ſatisfactory explanation can be found in the ordinary details of diurnal occurrences. Negotiations for a change of miniſtry.

ALTHOUGH it may not be true that Lord Bute interfered in the tranſactions of the cabinet, yet the jealous apprehenſion on that ſubject probably occaſioned the miniſtry to do many things offenſive to the King. Lord Temple both in the Houſe of Lords and in private, had repeatedly condemned Lord Bute's ſecret influence; he was about this time reconciled to his brother Mr. Grenville, and although they profeſſed the reconciliation to be merely a family tranſaction, it could not fail of producing a conſiderable effect on the political conduct of Mr. Grenville [d].

SUCH was the ſtate of the miniſtry and their adherents when the Duke of Cumberland entered into a negotiation with Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, reſpecting a change, and firſt applied to Lord Temple for his conditions. The Duke did not object to 15th May.

[c] Life of Lord Chatham, vol. i. p. 366.
[d] Life of Lord Chatham.

them;

CHAP. VIII.

1765. 19th. them; but required that the Earl of Northumberland ſhould be at the head of the treaſury: this propoſal was not agreeable to Lord Temple, and the conference broke off. The Duke, however, did not yet relinquiſh the hopes of ſucceſs: he waited on Mr. Pitt at Hayes, where he was met by Lord Temple, and the ſubject renewed. Mr. Pitt declared he had no objection to go to St. James's, "if he could carry the conſtitution with him," but declined all connexion with the Earl of Northumberland. The next day, Lord Frederick Cavendiſh was ſent from the Duke to Mr. Pitt, with a modification of the propoſal reſpecting the Earl of Northumberland, and Mr. Pitt returned the ſame anſwer which he had given to the Duke of Cumberland. The ſituation of firſt lord of the treaſury was then offered to Lord Lyttleton, who deſired to conſult Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt; and the Duke, convinced that no advantage could be derived from a new negotiation, reported theſe tranſactions to the King, adviſing him to continue his preſent ſervants [a].

23d May. Conduct of the miniſtry.

In conſequence of this counſel, the King required the miniſtry to ſtate the conditions on which they would remain in office. A meeting was held in Downing-ſtreet, at which the firſt lord of the treaſury, the lord chancellor, the Duke of Bedford, and the Earls of Halifax and Sandwich, were preſent. At the concluſion of this conference Mr. Grenville was directed to wait on the King, and ſtate five propoſitions as the terms of retaining their ſituations; 1. that Lord Bute ſhould not interfere directly or indirectly in the affairs of government; 2. Mr. Stuart M'Kenzie, Lord Bute's brother, to be diſmiſſed from the office of keeper of the privy ſeal for Scotland; 3. Lord Holland to be deprived of the paymaſterſhip of the forces, which ſhould be beſtowed on a mem-

[a] Hiſtory of the late Minority, chap. The public prints at the time noticed Duke of Cumberland's viſit to Mr. Pitt at Hayes. See Gentleman's Ma-, 1765, p. 245.

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ber of the Houſe of Commons; 4. The Marquis of Granby to be at the head of the army; and 5. The government of Ireland to be left to the diſcretionary arrangement of the miniſtry [f].

Difficulty of forming a new adminiſtration.

'THE difficulty already experienced in forming a new adminiſtration, rendered it neceſſary to comply in part with theſe propoſitions. Stuart M'Kenzie was diſmiſſed from the privy ſeal of Scotland, which was given to Lord Frederick Campbell; Charles Townſend was appointed pay-maſter of the forces; and Lord Weymouth lord lieutenant of Ireland. Still the diſunion between the King and the miniſtry exiſted in all its extent: a ſpirit of violence ſeems to have poſſeſſed ſome members of the cabinet, and urged them perſonally to inſult their ſovereign, in a manner which rendered their longer continuance in office impoſſible [g]. All previous attempts to form a new adminiſtration failing of ſucceſs, the King himſelf ſent for Mr. Pitt, and held a conference with him at Buckingham Houſe. In conſequence of this interview, Mr. Pitt, and Lord Temple had a joint audience, and the King condeſcended to lay before the two brothers certain propoſitions for their acceptance. Mr. Pitt ſeemed diſpoſed to comply with the moſt important, but required time to deliberate. Lord Temple declared his repugnance to all the conditions, and Mr. Pitt afterward adopted the ſame ſentiments.

8th June.

20th.

25th.

Rockingham miniſtry formed.

10, 15th July.

THE Duke of Cumberland being again applied to, negotiated with the Duke of Newcaſtle for the formation of a new miniſtry, which was ſpeedily adjuſted. The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treaſury; General Conway was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, with the management of the Houſe of Commons [h], the other ſecretary was the Duke of Grafton; the Duke of Newcaſtle was

[f] From private information.
[g] Junius, Letter xxiii. Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 367.
[h] Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 136.

CHAP. VIII. 1765.

lord privy ſeal; Mr. Dowdeſwell chancellor of the exchequer; and the Earl of Hertford lord lieutenant of Ireland. Theſe were the leading men in the new adminiſtration, though changes took place in every department. The high popularity of the Duke of Cumberland, who formed this miniſtry, and the characters of the principal members, promiſed a great degree of public favour, and one of their firſt acts, that of making Mr. Pratt, the chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, a peer, by the title of Earl Camden, was highly gratifying to the people.

Death of the Duke of Cumberland:

THE Duke of Cumberland, perfectly ſatisfied with this adminiſtration, contributed to their permanency by conſtantly attending the council, thus aſſiſting them with his advice and ſanctioning the meaſures by his ſplendid reputation; but of this eſtimable co-adjutor they were ſoon deprived, by his

31ſt Oct.

ſudden death. His great popularity, the deſerved meed of tried valour and undoubted patriotiſm, rendered his loſs extremely afflicting at this period, when a new miniſtry was preparing to try the effect of new meaſures. As their operations were intended to contravene the prejudices and opinions of all other parties, they required, in a peculiar manner, all the ſupport which could be derived from perſonal eſtimation. The deceaſe of the Duke was generally deplored as well by the nation as the royal family; and the King ſuſtained an additional loſs by the death of his brother, Prince Frederick, who expired in the ſixteenth year of his age.

29th Dec. and of prince Frederick.

CHAPTER THE NINTH:

1765—1766.

Examination of the motives for oppoſing the ſtamp act.—Formation of parties in America.—Exertions of the Preſbyterians.—Diſcontents on the arrival of the ſtamp act.—Proceedings in Virginia—and in New England.—Preparations for holding a congreſs.—Combinations againſt the uſe of ſtamps.—Riots at Boſton.—Meeting, proceedings, and diſſolution of Congreſs.—The delivery of ſtamps prevented.—Proceedings of the miniſtry.—Meeting and receſs of parliament.—Conſultation of the miniſtry.—Proceedings in parliament.—Debate on the addreſs.—[redacted] for repealing the ſtamp act.—Evidence before the [redacted] debates on the declaratory and repealing acts.—Act of indemnity.—Cyder-tax repealed.—General warrants declared illegal.—Other acts of the miniſtry.—Their feebleneſs.—Duke of Grafton reſigns.—Intrigue of Lord Chancellor Northington.—Overtures made to Mr. Pitt.—His quarrel with Lord Temple.—Mr. Pitt's miniſtry.—He is made a peer.—Rockingham adminiſtration diſmiſſed.—Compliments paid to the Marquis of Rockingham.—Efforts to render Lord Chatham unpopular.

CHAP. IX.

Examination of motives for oppoſing the ſtamp act.

THE ſtamp act, if conſidered by itſelf, and not incumbered with the queſtion relative to the right of Great Britain to tax her colonies, was a wiſe and equitable meaſure, and promiſed a productive revenue. It enjoyed the advantage of being ſimple, eaſy of collection, founded on the extended trade and commercial tranſactions of individuals, juſtly diſtributed, and effectually carrying its own powers into execution, without the teizing inſpection of officers. The only plauſible objection (excluſive of the general principle) aroſe from the difficulty of obtaining ſtamps in the interior of the country: it was alleged that the expence, if they were ſent by poſt, would in many caſes conſiderably exceed the value of the ſtamps themſelves; and as many inhabitants could only obtain them by travelling, they would probably be compelled to expend three or four pounds that government

CHAP. IX.

vernment might gain ſixpence[a]. This objection is ſtrained to the extreme verge of poſſibility, in order to gain ſomething like a plauſible reaſon for oppoſing the duty on the ground of expediency. If the perſons reſiding in remote parts of the country were numerous, their tranſactions would afford employ to a diſtributor of ſtamps, within a diſtrict of moderate extent; if the ſmallneſs of their numbers rendered that appointment unneceſſary, their occaſions for ſtamps muſt have been few, and the return of the demand periodical and certain, ſo that a proviſion might without inconvenience be made in advance, like any article of manufacture or conſumption. Unexpected events which create a ſudden call for ſtamped papers, can only ariſe in a mixed ſociety, where rapid changes in circumſtances give birth to multiplied tranſactions, and the ſudden and occaſional transfer of property, requires conſtant means of legal ſecurity[b].

BUT admitting the impoſſibility of ſupplying the back ſettlements, or of adjuſting the demands of the ſtate to the peculiarities of their ſituation; the meaſures adopted to reſiſt the introduction of the ſtamp duty, demonſtrated that not the conſideration of its practibility, or of the duty itſelf, but of the principle of impoſing it, formed the ſole ground of objection, and that thoſe who had proceeded to the verge of rebellion in their ſyſtem of oppoſition, fought this ſhallow ſubterfuge as a plauſible vindication of their factious conduct.

Formation of parties in America.

THE miniſtry acted imprudently in giving a year's notice of their intention to impoſe the ſtamp duty: they allowed time for the accumulation of diſcontents in America, and for the arrangements of factious men to oppoſe the law[c]. The firſt effort toward an union of intereſts was made by the Preſbyterians, who were

Exertions of the Preſbyterians.

[a] See Franklin's examination before the Houſe of Commons, Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 324.

[b] It ſhould be recollected, that at this period the ſtamp duties which affect the moſt frequent tranſactions of ſociety, ſuch as agreements and receipts, were not impoſed.

[c] Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 366.

eager

eager in carrying into execution their favourite project of forming a ſynod. Their churches had hitherto remained unconnected with each other, and their union in ſynod had been conſidered ſo dangerous to the community, that in 1725 it was prevented by the expreſs interference of the lords juſtices. Availing themſelves, with great addreſs, of the riſing diſcontents, the convention of miniſters and elders at Philadelphia incloſed in a circular letter to all the Preſbyterian congregations in Penſylvania the propoſed articles of union.

In this letter the writers complained that, notwithſtanding their numbers, "they were conſidered *as nobody*," and their eſſential and charter privileges were expoſed to the encroachments of evil-minded perſons. Other religious ſocieties inſulted them for their want of union, and charged the ill-conduct of individuals on the whole body. They, therefore, ſolicited the adoption of ſome ſyſtem which would enable them to act as a body, for the purpoſe of defending and augmenting their civil and religious privileges. They digeſted a plan by which a few gentlemen of Philadelphia, with the Preſbyterian miniſters, ſhould be choſen to correſpond with their friends in different parts, to give and receive advice, and conſult on meaſures tending to promote their welfare either as a body, or as connected in particular congregations. A number of what are termed the moſt *prudent and public ſpirited* perſons in each diſtrict of the province, and three lower counties, were to be elected for the purpoſes of correſponding jointly with the miniſters in thoſe diſtricts, with one another, and with the gentlemen of Philadelphia. A perſon was to be nominated in each committee to ſign and receive letters in the name of the whole, to convoke the committee, and impart for their deliberation the advice they ſhould obtain. Deputies were to be ſent by the committee in each county or diſtrict, yearly or half yearly, to a general meeting of the whole body, to

conſult

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conſult and give advice; and each committee to tranſmit to that in Philadelphia their names and numbers, with periodical accounts of alterations.

In conſequence of this letter, an union of all the Preſbyterian congregations took place in Penſylvania, and the lower counties. A ſimilar confederacy was eſtabliſhed in all the ſouthern provinces, in purſuance of ſimilar letters, written by their reſpective conventions. Theſe meaſures ended in the eſtabliſhment of an annual ſynod at Philadelphia, where all the Preſbyterian congregations in the colonies were repreſented by their reſpective miniſters and elders, and where all general affairs, political as well as religious, were debated and decided. From this ſynod, orders and decrees were iſſued throughout America, and to them a ready and implicit obedience was paid.

The diſcontented in New England recommended an union of the congregational and Preſbyterian intereſt throughout the colonies. A negotiation took place, which ended in the appointment of a permanent committee of correſpondence, furniſhed with powers to communicate and conſult, on all occaſions, with a ſimilar committee eſtabliſhed by the congregational churches in New England. Thus the Preſbyterians in the ſouthern colonies, who, while unconnected in their ſeveral congregations, were of little importance, were raiſed into weight and conſequence; and formed a dangerous combination of men, whoſe principles of religion and policy were equally adverſe to that of the eſtabliſhed church and government.

By this union, a party was prepared to diſplay their power by reſiſtance, and the ſtamp law preſented itſelf as a favourable object of hoſtility. Yet, ſenſible of their own incompetency to act effectually without aſſi[illegible]e, and apprehenſive of counteraction from th[illegible]embers of the church of England, and thoſe d[illegible]ters who were averſe to violence, they ſtrove

with the utmoſt aſſiduity to make friends and converts among the diſaffected of every denomination [d].

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The prevailing diſcontent which extended to the moſt reſpectable ranks of ſociety, was favourable to their hopes, and when the news arrived that the ſtamp act had paſſed in Great Britain, the meaſures adopted were conformable to their moſt ſanguine wiſhes. The act was reprinted, with a death's head affixed, inſtead of the King's arms, and hawked in the ſtreets at New York, by the title of "England's Folly, and the ruin of America;" the guns at Philadelphia, both in the town and in the barracks, were ſpiked, by offenders who remained undetected; at Boſton, the colours of the ſhipping were hoiſted half-maſt; the church bells were muffled, and tolled a funeral knell; and an alarming ferment generally prevailed [e].

Diſcontents on the arrival of the ſtamp act.

It muſt afford matter of ſurpriſe, that theſe tranſactions were viewed with indifference, and, in a certain degree, ſanctioned, by men in the ſuperior claſſes of life: but the ſituation of the colonies, and the manner in which they had been of late conſidered in England, account for the prevailing ſpirit of preſumption. During the late war, and ſince the peace, the importance of America had been magnified by all the arts of eloquence, as if the exiſtence of Great Britain, as a commercial nation, depended on the trade with that country. The coloniſts naturally eſtimated themſelves at no leſs than they were appreciated by the Britiſh parliament. They loudly claimed a total exemption from taxation, which they reſolved to obtain by force, if neceſſary, and were induced by various circumſtances to expect ſucceſs. They hoped to increaſe the diſcontents in England, by forbearing to import goods, and by encouraging their own manufactures. The cauſe aſſigned for taxing the colo-

[d] Hiſtorical and Political Reflections on the riſe and progreſs of the American Rebellion, by Joſeph Galloway.

[e] Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 7. Andrews's Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. p. 41.

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nies, a deficiency of reſources, led the Americans to expect that it would be impoſſible for the mother country to provide and maintain a ſtanding military force: they calculated on a great acceſſion of population from the emigration of unemployed manufacturers; on their own rapid growth, and on the neceſſary diminution of a Britiſh army by deſertions; conſidering alſo, that the army would be employed, not in conqueſt, but in maintaining the law againſt a general and wide ſpreading diſaffection, they entertained hopes that it would in time relinquiſh its fidelity, and procure the independency of America[f].

A COGENT motive for the attachment and dutiful ſubmiſſion of the colonies was removed by the ceſſion of Canada and the Floridas. The Americans, no longer alarmed by the vicinity of the French and Spaniards, found their own force adequate to their own defence, and felt no weakneſs or terror to diminiſh that ſenſe of their importance which numbers, proſperity, and the opinions held in England, contributed to inſpire. The virulence of faction in Great Britain produced a correſpondent effect in America, where a bold diſreſpectful mode of eloquence, not deficient in vigour, though totally exempt from refinement, was generally adopted[g].

Proceedings in Virginia.

To the aſtoniſhment of thoſe who conſidered only the ancient habits of loyalty which had prevailed in Virginia, that colony ſet the example of authorized oppoſition to government. This is partly attributed to accident; but the manner in which debates were conducted in their legiſlature, and the reſolutions finally ſanctioned, indicated a moſt alarming and dangerous diſpoſition. The leading men in the aſſembly, which then happened to be ſitting, were

[f] Theſe ſentiments are forcibly expreſſed in a letter from a well-informed gentleman at New York to a nobleman in London, dated 8th November, 1765. The whole letter is highly important and intereſting from the ability and candour with which it is written. It is referred to in ſubſequent parts of the chapter, and printed in the Appendix, No. V.

[g] Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. p. 31.

anxious

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anxious to ſhew their conſtituents, that they would not diſavow, in their legiſlative capacity, thoſe ſentiments, which as individuals, they had inculcated. Although the operation of the ſtamp act was not to commence till November, the ſubject was eagerly introduced, and occaſioned a violent debate, or rather a ſeries of virulent harangues. One of the members, Patrick Henry, after declaiming with bitterneſs againſt the ſuppoſed arbitrary meaſures of the preſent reign, exclaimed "Cæſar had his Brutus; Charles I. his Oliver Cromwell; and George the Third ———." A cry of "treaſon!" was uttered; the ſpeaker called Mr. Henry to order, and declared he would quit the chair, unleſs he was ſupported by the Houſe in reſtraining ſuch intemperate ſpeeches [h].

29th May.

WHEN tranquillity was in ſome degree reſtored, the houſe proceeded to frame a ſet of reſolutions, importing, That the firſt ſettlers in Virginia had brought with them, and tranſmitted to their poſterity, all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the people of England. By the two charters of James I. the coloniſts were entitled to all thoſe privileges and immunities. They had enjoyed the right of being *thus* governed by their own aſſembly, in the article of taxes and internal police, which right had never been forfeited or relinquiſhed, but conſtantly recognized by the King and parliament of Great Britain [i]. Therefore the general aſſembly of Virginia, together with His Majeſty or his Subſtitutes, had in their repre-

[h] Ibid. vol. i. p. 32.

[i] This third reſolution wants connexion and explanation. The right of being *thus* governed is claimed without any previous declaration of the mode of government. This is ſupplied by a reſolution which, though rejected by the aſſembly, was publiſhed, and muſt have formed the third in the ſeries originally moved. It is in theſe words, "Reſolved, That His Majeſty's liege people, the inhabitants of "this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatſo-"ever, deſigned to impoſe any taxation whatſoever upon them, other than the "laws and ordinances of the general aſſembly aforeſaid." Another reſolution was alſo preſented and rejected, as follows; "Any perſon who ſhall, by ſpeaking "or writing, maintain that any perſon or perſons, other than the general aſſem-"bly of this colony, have any right or power to impoſe or lay any taxation what-"ſoever on the people here, ſhall be deemed an enemy to His Majeſty's colony."

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ſentative capacity the only excluſive right and power to tax the inhabitants of Virginia; and every attempt to veſt ſuch a power in any perſon or perſons whomſoever, except the general aſſembly, was illegal, unconſtitutional, and unjuſt, and had a manifeſt tendency to deſtroy Britiſh, as well as American independence [k].

Their aſſembly diſſolved.

THE governor of Virginia, informed of theſe proceedings, diſſolved the aſſembly; but this meaſure was adopted too late: their reſolves ſanctioned oppoſition in their own province, and formed a precedent which was followed by other legiſlative bodies.

Conduct of New England.

THE reſolutions, though preceded by ſuch a vehement debate, were too moderate to ſatisfy the inhabitants of New England, who had in the preceding year manifeſted a diſpoſition to reſiſt the authority of Great Britain in general, by a reſolute aſſertion of the Rights of Man; the aſſembly of Virginia cautiouſly appealed to their charters, proudly conſidered themſelves as Britiſh ſubjects, and left the authority of the mother-country without limits, except in the particulars of taxation and internal police, tacitly acknowledging their right to impoſe duties on merchandiſes, and to regulate and reſtrain commerce.

Auguſt. Preparations for holding a congreſs.

AT the ſuggeſtion of the Houſe of Repreſentatives at Boſton, ſeveral aſſemblies appointed deputies for a general congreſs at New York, to which the legiſlature of each province was to contribute from two to five members, for the purpoſe of obtaining relief under the inſupportable grievance of the ſtamp act [l].

Combination againſt the uſe of ſtamps.

IN this interval, every exertion which intereſt and reſentment could ſuggeſt, was employed to increaſe the popular fermentation. The practiſers of the law generally reſolved to forego their profeſſion rather than make uſe of ſtamps. The officers appointed by government to diſtribute them were compelled by

Riots:

[k] Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 6.

[l] See a liſt of the firſt congreſs, Almon's Papers, vol. i. p. 27.

mobs

mobs to reſign their offices, and undertake never to reſume them. Theſe inſurrections occurring nearly at the ſame time in all parts of America, and having the ſame tendency, manifeſted a correſponding influence which governed all their motions. The immediate agents were of the loweſt claſs, but evidently guided and protected by their ſuperiors.

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THE proceedings at Boſton, which ſerved as a model for the reſt, are thus deſcribed: About twilight, a ſmall bonfire was kindled, and ſurrounded only by a few boys and children: the fire-ward endeavouring to extinguiſh it, was deſired in a whiſper, by an unknown perſon, to deſiſt; not regarding this intimation, he received a blow on the arm, and ſuch other marks of violence as compelled him to withdraw. Soon afterward, a particular whiſtle and whoop were heard, which ſerved as a ſignal for the appearance of a great number of perſons diſguiſed, and armed with clubs and ſticks, who burned the records of the admiralty, and deſtroyed the houſes, furniture, and apparel of ſuch public officers as had given offence. The reſpectable inhabitants diſavowed ſuch proceedings; but rewards for the detection of the criminals were tendered in vain, and the governor attempted to induce the militia to aſſiſt in preſerving the peace without effect[m].

26th. Aug. At Boſton.

THE intelligence of a change of miniſtry in England, which transferred the power of government to thoſe who were ſuppoſed adverſe to the ſyſtem adopted towards America, is ſuppoſed to have given energy to theſe tumults[n]; and the conjecture is rendered more probable from the vote of the freeholders of Boſton, that addreſſes of thanks ſhould be preſented to General Conway and Colonel Barré, and their pictures be placed in the town hall[o].

18th. Sep.

[m] Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 13, et paſſim.—Stedman, vol. i. p. 39.
[n] Stedman, vol. i. p. 37.
[o] Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 16.

DEPUTIES

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DEPUTIES from nine of the colonies met in congreſs. The four not repreſented were New Hampſhire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. The aſſembly of New Hampſhire promiſed concurrence in any petition which ſhould be agreed on by the repreſentatives of the other colonies. The aſſemblies in the other three provinces were not ſitting when the letter from Maſſachuſſets Bay arrived, and the governors prevented their meeting, till the day appointed for holding the congreſs was paſt. When the commiſſioners of Boſton waited on the governor of New York, he ſaid, ſuch a congreſs was unconſtitutional, unprecedented, and unlawful, and he ſhould give them no countenance; he did not, however, attempt to hinder their proceedings.

7th. Oct. Meeting of congreſs.

THE members were, in general, men of warm paſſions; an impatience to return home, and the pride of thoſe who were intruſted with the delicate commiſſion of drawing up their reſolves, had a bad effect on their tranſactions. Theſe perſons had not ſought proper ſources of information before they began to write, nor indeed before the congreſs was diſſolved; and their compoſitions betray evident marks of hurry and imperfection. They determined on fourteen reſolves, a petition to the King, another to the Houſe of Commons, and a memorial to the Houſe of Lords. They would not be perſuaded to a full recognition of the authority of parliament in matters of taxation, but profeſſed allegiance to the crown, and *due ſubordination* to the two houſes. By their reſolutions, they declared themſelves entitled to all the rights of ſubjects born within the realm of Great Britain. They pronounced it eſſential to the freedom of a people to be taxed only with their own conſent; but the colonies neither were nor could, from local circumſtances be repreſented in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons; their only repreſentatives were in their colonial legiſlatures; and except by them, no taxes had

had been or could be conſtitutionally impoſed. They defined ſupplies to be gifts, and therefore inferred that the Commons of Great Britain could not conſtitutionally grant away American property. They claimed trial by jury as the right of the ſubject; the ſtamp act, and other acts of trade, tended to ſubvert that right. The duties lately impoſed, they affirmed to be grievous, and the payment impracticable: the profits of their commerce centered in Great Britain, and therefore the inhabitants of America contributed largely to all ſupplies. The effect of the parliamentary reſtrictions was ſuch as to prevent them from purchaſing the manufactures of Great Britain; but the proſperity of the colonies depended on the enjoyment of their rights, and a mutual beneficial intercourſe with the mother-country. They claimed, as ſubjects, the right of petitioning King, Lords, and Commons, and declared it was their duty, by a loyal addreſs to the King, and humble application to both Houſes, to procure a repeal of the ſtamp act, and others reſtricting trade and extending the admiralty juriſdictions. The acts of the congreſs concluded, by recommending the colonies to ſolicit their cauſe by ſpecial agents from each [p].

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THESE proceedings, conducted with a cautious attention to the externals of order and decorum, excited no immediate alarm, but the convocation produced moſt extenſive and prejudical effects. Their reſolutions formed the baſis and model of petitions and addreſſes, which were procured throughout the colonies; and the interchange of opinion inflamed the ſpirit of oppoſition, while it deſtroyed fear of failure by the certain proſpect of co-operation and ſupport. "By the meeting of ſo many deputies at New York," a judicious writer has obſerved, "a communication was opened, and a correſpondence eſtabliſhed,

[p] Appendix, No. v. See alſo the proceedings at length, Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 26.—Stedman, vol. i. p. 39 to 42.

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between the leading men of all the colonies; and a foundation was thus laid for uniting their common efforts, whenever future circumſtances, and the attempt of a future adminiſtration, ſhould render it neceſſary. One effect of the mutual underſtanding which took place amongſt theſe leading men was, indeed, diſcoverable; for, as ſoon as they returned to their reſpective homes, aſſociations were ſet on foot in all the colonies againſt the importation of Britiſh manufactures[q], ſuch importation to ceaſe after the firſt of January following, until the ſtamp act ſhould be repealed; a meaſure which was probably concerted before they left New-York[r]."

The delivery of ſtamps prevented.

THE effects of this determined ſpirit of oppoſition were ſpeedily diſplayed. When ſhips arrived from England with ſtamped papers on board, the utmoſt induſtry was employed in preventing the unloading of their cargoes, and compelling the officers of government to place the ſtamps in the cuſtody of perſons appointed to prevent their being uſed. The ſhips were not ſecure unleſs under the guns of men of war, or of forts. From theſe circumſtances, and the reſignation of the appointed diſtributors, on the day aſſigned for the operation of the act, no ſtamps could be obtained. The adminiſtration of juſtice was impeded, except in criminal caſes, and commerce was ſuſpended by the impoſſibility of obtaining entries and clearances at the cuſtom houſes, with the legal impoſt. Some merchants ventured to ſend their ſhips on voyages with certificates from the governors, that ſtamps could not be procured; and the council and aſſembly of Maſſachuſſets, entered a daring reſolution in their books, declaring it lawful to tranſact buſineſs without them[s].

1ſt Nov.

Obſervations.

IF the miniſtry were not convinced that the time

[q] This meaſure did not ſucceed in the degree that was ſuppoſed: deſigning men, however, took advantage of it, when they had large ſtores of Engliſh goods on hand.

[r] Stedman, vol. i. p. 42

[s] Ibid. Andrews's Hiſtory of the War, vol. i. p. 48.

was

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was arrived, or nearly approaching, when the dependence of America on Great Britain muſt be diſſolved, their conduct in tolerating the proceedings of the coloniſts was highly culpable. If they deemed ſuch a ſeparation now unavoidable, they did not meet the occaſion with ſufficient magnanimity, nor purſue a ſyſtem calculated to diminiſh the danger and injury attending ſo great a diviſion from the mother-country. It was obvious that ſo large a body of people, ſeparated by a wide ocean from the immediate effects of reſentment, and encouraged by intereſt, and by the avowed approbation of a numerous and popular party in England, would not deſiſt from a courſe of oppoſition, in which their greateſt exceſſes were ſanctioned by impunity.

Proceeding of the miniſtry.

THE miniſters were embarraſſed with the difficulties of their ſituation, and equally unprepared for effectual reſiſtance and dignified conceſſion. One of their firſt meaſures reſpecting America was prudent, and if followed by others diſtinguiſhed for vigour, the reſult might have been highly beneficial. A minute was entered in the treaſury books, import- 9th July. ing, that in order to obviate the inconvenience of bringing into Great Britain the money raiſed in the colonies, it ſhould be received by the deputy paymaſter in America, to defray the ſubſiſtence of troops, and military expenſes. The reſolutions of the aſſembly of Virginia were laid before the board of trade, and by them reported to be a dangerous attack on the conſtitution of Great Britain; and they recommended that orders ſhould be immediately iſſued for the executive power, and all the officers of government in Virginia, concerned in enforcing the ſtamp duty, to exert themſelves vigorouſly in ſupporting the authority of parliament, and with becoming firmneſs, in exacting a due obedience to the law of the land.

A COUNCIL was not held ſpeedily after this reſolu- 14th Sept. tion of the board of trade; but General Conway, ſecretary

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ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, wrote to the governor of Virginia a letter of a weak and impolitic tendency. He expreſſed hopes, that another aſſembly would adopt deciſions different from thoſe tranſmitted to England, and adviſed him to make proper repreſentations to the wiſe and ſober part of the people. But even theſe unimportant and indeciſive directions were qualified by an obſervation, that as the matter was before the privy-council, he ſhould not pretend to give any advice or inſtructions on the ſubject. The ſame irreſolution infected the council; they reported to the King, that this was a matter of the utmoſt importance to the realm and legiſlature; too weighty for their determination, and only to be diſcuſſed in parliament[1]. By this declaration, the council declined adviſing, becauſe the ſubject was of importance, and referred to parliament for inſtructions whether obedience to its own acts ſhould be enforced by the executive power. After the holding of the council, General Conway wrote a circular letter to the governors in America, in terms ſomewhat more deciſive, but not ſufficiently clear or dignified for the miniſter of an inſulted government, who gives inſtructions in a critical emergency.

3d Oct.

24th Oct.

If the advice of the two houſes was deemed neceſſary to ſanction the acts of government, the ſeſſion ought to have been immediately commenced, and proper meaſures ſpeedily adopted; but the parliament did not aſſemble till the 17th of December, and ſeparated for the Chriſtmas receſs, without tranſacting any buſineſs, except iſſuing writs to fill up vacancies.

17th Dec. Meeting and receſs of parliament.

In this interval, a meeting was held at the houſe of the Marquis of Rockingham, for the purpoſe of arranging meaſures againſt the opening of the ſeſſion, and particularly with reſpect to the late tranſactions in America. Among the perſons preſent, were the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Egmont, General Conway, Mr. Dowdeſwell, the Earl of Dartmouth,

27th Dec. Conſultation of miniſtry.

[1] See Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 38.

and

and Mr. Yorke. The moſt effective and dignified advice was, to declare, by an act of parliament, the legiſlative power of Great Britain over America, and inflict penalties of high treaſon on thoſe who ſhould impeach that authority, either by ſpeaking or writing. The ſupremacy of the parent-country being thus aſcertained, it was recommended to bring in a bill to explain, alter, and amend the ſtamp act, in ſuch a manner as would render the operation eaſy, and its proviſions unexceptionable. The principal alterations were, that duties ſhould be paid in currency, inſtead of ſterling money; offences againſt the act tried in courts of record, inſtead of the court of vice-admiralty; and the merchants relieved, by taking off, or greatly reducing, the ſtamps on cocquets and clearances. But this firm and manly advice did not prevail; the opinions previouſly delivered by ſome members of adminiſtration, were incompatible with ſuch meaſures; and although Mr. Dowdeſwell, chancellor of the exchequer, produced letters from New York, importing that the money collected from the duty on molaſſes, had been detained in the colony by the threats and orders of the mob, yet no vigorous meaſure was reſolved on. In fact, nothing was decided, except the terms in which the King's ſpeech ſhould be compriſed: and the miniſtry formed no regular or conſiſtent plan of operation and mutual ſupport [u].

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WHEN parliament met before the holidays, the King, in his ſpeech, obſerved that matters had occurred in ſome of the American colonies, which demanded the moſt ſerious attention of the legiſlature. After the receſs, he reſumed the topic, and having obſerved that he had directed the proper papers to be laid before the two houſes, ſaid, "No "time has been loſt on the firſt advice of theſe diſ"turbances to iſſue orders to the governors of "American provinces, and commanders of forces,

14th Jan. 1766. Meeting of parliament.

[u] From private information, and minutes of the conference.

"for

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"for the exertion of all the powers of government "in suppressing riots and tumults, and in the effectual "support of lawful authority." Whatever remained to be done, was committed to the wisdom of the legislature.

Debate on the address.

In the debate on the address, the affairs of America were amply discussed. The difference of sentiment which prevailed in the cabinet now became apparent, and the contest was not properly between ministry and opposition, but between those who favoured and those who disavowed the taxation of America. Mr. Nugent (afterwards Earl of Clare) insisted that the honour and dignity of the kingdom required a compulsory enforcement of the stamp act, unless the right of parliament was acknowledged, and the repeal solicited as a favour. He computed the expense of the troops employed in America for their defence at nine pence in the pound of the land-tax, while the produce of the stamp act would not raise a shilling a head on the colonists*; but a pepper-corn in acknowledgment of right, was of more value than millions without that homage.

Arguments of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt was conspicuous on the opposite side. He informed the house, that he was unconnected and unconsulted; and having desired a second reading of the speech and address, sarcastically applauded both, because nothing was decided respecting America, and every one was left at liberty to assume such part as he should see fit. He disapproved of the tardiness displayed in giving notice to the legislature of the American troubles, which ought to have been imparted immediately; and condemned, without reserve, every capital measure of the late ministry. He had no objection to the present administration; they were men of fair characters, and such as he was glad to

* The greatest sum proposed to be raised by the stamp act, was 100,000l. per annum. One shilling each from the inhabitants of America, who were computed at two millions and a half, would give 125,000l. This calculation, however, is inaccurate. Lord Sheffield, in his observations on the commerce of the American States, to be greatly exaggerated.

see

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ſee in His Majeſty's ſervice. He had never been made a ſacrifice by any of them: ſome had aſked his opinion before they would engage: he had adviſed them to take official ſituations, but could not give them his confidence. "Pardon me, gentlemen," he ſaid, bowing to the miniſtry, "confidence is a plant of ſlow growth in an aged boſom; youth is the ſeaſon of credulity. By comparing events with each other, reaſoning from effects to cauſes, methinks I plainly diſcover the traces of an over-ruling influence. There is a clauſe in the act of ſettlement to oblige every miniſter to ſign his name to the advice which he gives to his ſovereign. Would it were obſerved! —I have had the honour to ſerve the crown, and if I could have ſubmitted to influence, I might have ſtill continued to ſerve; but I would not be reſponſible for others. I have no local attachments: it is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this ſide or that ſide of the Tweed. I ſought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boaſt that I was the firſt miniſter who looked for it, and found it, in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew into your ſervice an hardy and intrepid race of men!—men, who, when left by your jealouſly, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to overturn the ſtate in the war before the laſt. Theſe men, in the laſt war, were brought to combat on your ſide; they ſerved with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world;—deteſted be the national reflections againſt them! they are unjuſt, groundleſs, illiberal, unmanly.—When I ceaſed to ſerve His Majeſty as a miniſter, it was not the country of the man by which I was moved—but the man of that country wanted wiſdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom."

Mr. PITT then ſaid, when the reſolution was adopted to tax America, he was confined by illneſs, but ſo great was the agitation of his mind for the conſe-

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conſequences, that if he could have endured to be carried in his bed, he would have ſolicited ſome kind hand to lay him down on the floor of the Houſe, that he might bear teſtimony againſt it. He hoped an early day would be appointed to conſider the ſtate of the nation with reſpect to America, and that the diſcuſſion would be conducted with temper and impartiality. A more important ſubject never engaged the attention of the Houſe; that only excepted, when, near a century ago, the Commons debated whether they themſelves were to be bound or free. In the meantime, as he could not depend on his health for a future day, he ſhould ſay a few words at preſent. Leaving the juſtice, the equity, the policy, and the expediency of the act to another time, he would confine himſelf to the right; a point which ſeemed not generally underſtood. He reprobated the argument of Mr. Nugent, which had a tendency to make it a point of honour. If gentlemen conſidered it in that light, they left all meaſures of right and wrong to follow a deluſion, which might lead to deſtruction. He then declared his opinion that *Great Britain had no right to lay a tax upon the colonies;* though, at the ſame time, he aſſerted the authority of Great Britain over them, to be ſovereign and ſupreme in every caſe of legiſlation. In ſupport of this opinion he ſaid, "The coloniſts are ſubjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourſelves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Engliſhmen; — equally bound by its laws, and equally participating in the conſtitution of this free country. The Americans are the ſons, not the baſtards, of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legiſlative power. Taxes are the voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legiſlation, the three eſtates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only neceſſary to clothe it with the form of a law; the gift and grant is of the Commons alone. In ancient days, the crown, the barons, and

the clergy, poſſeſſed the lands. In thoſe days, the barons and the clergy granted to the crown; they gave and granted what was their own. At preſent, ſince the diſcovery of America, and other circumſtances permitting, the Commons are become the proprietors of the land. The church (God bleſs it!) has but a pittance. The property of the Lords, compared with that of the Commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean; and this Houſe repreſents thoſe Commons, the proprietors of the lands; and thoſe proprietors virtually repreſent the reſt of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this Houſe we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, Your Majeſty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to Your Majeſty, what? Our own property? — No; we give and grant to Your Majeſty the property of Your Majeſty's Commons of America. It is an abſurdity in terms. The diſtinction between legiſlation and taxation is eſſentially neceſſary to liberty. The Crown, the peers, are equally legiſlative powers with the Commons. If taxation be a part of ſimple legiſlation, the Crown, the peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourſelves: rights which they will claim, which they will exerciſe, whenever the principle can be ſupported by power. There is an idea in ſome, that the colonies are virtually repreſented in the Houſe. I would fain know by whom an American is repreſented here? Is he repreſented by any knight of the ſhire, in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that reſpectable repreſentation was augmented to a greater number! Or, will you tell him that he is repreſented by any repreſentative of a borough — a borough which perhaps its own repreſentatives never ſaw. — This is what is called *the rotten part of the conſtitution.* — It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop, it muſt be amputated. The idea of a virtual repreſentation of America in this Houſe, is the moſt contemptible that ever entered into

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into the head of a man. It does not deſerve a ſerious refutation. The commoners of America, repreſented in their ſeveral aſſemblies, have ever been in poſſeſſion of the exerciſe of this, their conſtitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been ſlaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the ſame time, this kingdom, as the ſupreme governing and legiſlative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations and reſtrictions, in trade, in navigation, in manufactures; in every thing except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their conſent. Here I would draw the line, "*quam ultra citraque nequit conſiſtere rectum.*"

General Conway.

A CONSIDERABLE pauſe ſucceeded this remarkable ſpeech, which was well calculated to produce an animated reply; but no one riſing, General Conway declared his ſentiments were entirely conformable to thoſe of Mr. Pitt. He accounted for the tardy notice to parliament of the troubles in America, by ſaying, the firſt accounts were too vague and imperfect to be worthy of notice[r]. "An over-ruling influence," he ſaid, "has been hinted at. I ſee nothing of it;—I feel nothing of it;—I diſclaim it for myſelf, and, as far as my diſcernment can reach, for the reſt of His Majeſty's miniſters."

Mr. Grenville.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Pitt was ſo far gratified by General Conway's coincidence in opinion, and by ſome high compliments contained in his ſpeech, as to admit the validity of his excuſe if it was true; Mr. Grenville, who ſpoke in defence of his own meaſures, was not diſpoſed to treat the matter with ſo much lenity. He cenſured the miniſtry with great ſeverity for delaying to give earlier notice of the diſturbances in America. He ſaid, "They began in July, and now we are in

[r] This aſſertion of the ſecretary of ſtate could hardly be correct. The reſolutions of the aſſembly of Virginia were not vague information; the reſolutions entered into by the other aſſemblies to form a congreſs were clearly announced; and the minute of council of the 3d October ſhews that the miniſtry did not conſider theſe matters of ſmall importance.

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the middle of January; lately they were only occurrences, they are now grown to diſturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrine of this day be confirmed, that name will be loſt in revolution. The government over them being diſſolved, a revolution muſt take place in America. I cannot underſtand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the ſame in effect, and only differ in name. That this kingdom has the ſovereign, the ſupreme legiſlative power over America, is granted; it cannot be denied: and taxation is a part of that ſovereign power. It is one branch of legiſlation. It is, and it has been, exerciſed over thoſe who are not, who never were repreſented. It is exerciſed over the Eaſt India Company, the merchants of London, the proprietors of the ſtocks, and over the great manufacturing towns. It was exerciſed over the palatinate of Cheſter, and the biſhopric of Durham, before they ſent any repreſentatives to parliament. I appeal for proof to the preambles of the acts which gave them repreſentatives: the one in the reign of Henry VIII. the other in that of Charles II." Mr. Grenville then quoted the acts, and deſired they might be read; which being done, he continued: "When I propoſed to tax America, I repeatedly aſked the Houſe if any objection could be made to the right; but no one attempted to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America: America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always ready to aſk it; that protection has always been afforded them in the moſt full and ample manner. The nation has run itſelf into an immenſe debt to give them protection; and now they are called upon to contribute a ſmall ſhare towards the public expenſe,—an expenſe ariſing from themſelves,—they renounce your authority, inſult your officers, and break out, I might

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almoſt ſay, into open rebellion. The ſeditious ſpirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this Houſe. Gentlemen are careleſs of the conſequences of what they ſay, provided it anſwers the purpoſes of oppoſition. We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect diſobedience. What was this, but telling the Americans to reſiſt the law,—to encourage their obſtinacy with the expectation of ſupport from hence? Let us only perſevere for a ſhort time, they would ſay, our friends will ſoon be in power. Ungrateful people of America! Bounties have been extended to them: when I had the honour of ſerving the crown, while you yourſelves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favour, the act of navigation, that palladium of Britiſh commerce: and yet I have been abuſed in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been particularly charged with giving orders and inſtructions to prevent the Spaniſh trade, and thereby ſtopping the channel by which alone North America uſed to be ſupplied with caſh for remittances to this country. I defy any man to produce any ſuch orders or inſtructions. I diſcouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by act of parliament. I was above giving an anſwer to anonymous calumnies; but in this place it becomes me to wipe off the aſperſion."

Mr. Pitt in reply.

WHEN Mr. Grenville ceaſed ſpeaking ſeveral members roſe, but Mr. Pitt appearing to be one of the number, the others receded, and the Houſe clamorouſly required that he ſhould be heard. In his exordium, Mr. Pitt obſerved, he only meant to have thrown out a few hints on the right of taxation, which was at leaſt equivocal, but ſince Mr. Grenville had gone into the juſtice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the ſtamp act, he would follow him through the whole field, and combat his arguments on every point.

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This declaration produced an objection on the point of order, but that queſtion being decided in Mr. Pitt's favour, he, by deſire of the Houſe, thus proceeded: "I have been charged with giving birth to ſedition in America. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of ſpeech in this Houſe imputed as a crime. But the imputation ſhall not diſcourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exerciſe. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exerciſe it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have profited. He ought to have deſiſted from his project. The gentleman tells us America is obſtinate; America is almoſt in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has reſiſted. Three millions of people, ſo dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to ſubmit to be ſlaves, would have been fit inſtruments to make ſlaves of the reſt. I come not here armed at all points with law caſes and acts of parliament, with the ſtatute-book doubled down in dogs-ears, to defend the cauſe of liberty. If I had, I myſelf would have cited the two caſes of Cheſter and Durham; I would have cited them to ſhew, that, even under arbitrary reigns, parliaments were aſhamed of taxing a people without their conſent, and allowed them repreſentatives. Why did the gentleman confine himſelf to Cheſter and Durham? He might have taken a higher example in Wales — Wales, that never was taxed by Parliament, until it was incorporated." CHAP. IX. 1766.

Mr. PITT then deprecated the conſideration of the queſtion as a mere point of law, for which he acknowledged his inability, but wiſhed it might be diſcuſſed on a conſtitutional principle; that being a ground on which he ſtood firm, and could boldly meet any man. He diſtinguiſhed between the Americans, who were not, and could not be repreſented in parliament, and the merchants, ſtockholders, and manufacturers who were repreſented, or might be if they would. He recapitulated the names and characters of the chief miniſters ſince the Revolution;

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none of whom, he ſaid, ever thought or dreamed of robbing the colonies of their conſtitutional rights. There were not wanting ſome who had endeavoured to perſuade him, when miniſter, to burn his fingers with an American ſtamp act; and perhaps, under the then circumſtances, they might have ſubmitted, but it would have been taking an unjuſt and ungenerous advantage.

"I AM no courtier of America;" he ſaid, "I ſtand up for this kingdom. I maintain, that the parliament has a right to bind, to reſtrain America. Our legiſlative power over the colonies is ſovereign and ſupreme. When it ceaſes to be ſovereign and ſupreme, I would adviſe every gentleman to ſell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one muſt neceſſarily govern; the greater muſt rule the leſs; but ſo rule it as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both. There is a plain diſtinction between taxes levied for the purpoſes of raiſing a revenue, and duties impoſed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the ſubject; although, in the conſequences, ſome revenue might incidentally ariſe from the latter. The gentleman aſks, when were the colonies emancipated? I deſire to know when they were made ſlaves? But I dwell not upon words."

Mr. PITT then aſſerted that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, were two millions a year. "This was the fund which carried us triumphantly through the laſt war. This is the price America pays for protection. And ſhall a miſerable financier come with a boaſt, that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the Exchequer, by the loſs of millions to the nation! I am convinced," he added, "the whole commercial ſyſtem of America may be altered to advantage: you have prohibited [illegible] you ought to have encouraged; and you have encouraged

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encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. Improper reſtraints have been laid on the Continent in favour of the Iſlands. Let the acts of parliament in conſequence of treaties remain, but let not an Engliſh miniſter become a Cuſtom-houſe officer for Spain, or for any foreign power. Much is wrong; much may be amended for the general good of the whole. The gentleman muſt not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as miniſter, he aſſerted the right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modeſty in this Houſe which does not chooſe to contradict a miniſter. Even your chair, Sir, looks too often toward St. James's. I wiſh gentlemen would think better of this modeſty. If they do not, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its reſpect for the repreſentative. A great deal has been ſaid without doors of the power, of the ſtrength of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiouſly meddled with. In a good cauſe, on a ſound bottom, the force of this country can cruſh America to atoms. But on this ground, on the ſtamp act, when ſo many here will think it a crying injuſtice, I, am one who will lift up my hands againſt it; in ſuch a cauſe, your ſucceſs would be hazardous. America, if ſhe fell, would fall like the ſtrong man; ſhe would embrace the pillars of the ſtate, and pull down the conſtitution along with her." Mr. Pitt, deprecating too much ſeverity in judging the conduct of the Americans, ſaid, "I acknowledge they have not acted in all things with prudence and temper: they have been wronged: they have been driven to madneſs by injuſtice. Will you puniſh them for the madneſs you have occaſioned? Rather let prudence and temper come firſt from this ſide. I will undertake for America, that ſhe will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior, on a man's behaviour to his wife, ſo applicable to you and your colonies that I cannot help repeating them;

"Be to her faults a little blind:
"Be to her virtues very kind.——"

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In concluſion, he gave it as his opinion; that the ſtamp act ſhould be repealed abſolutely, totally, and immediately; and the reaſon aſſigned, that it was founded on an erroneous principle. "At the ſame time," he added "let the ſovereign authority of this country over the colonies be aſſerted, in as ſtrong terms as can be deviſed, and be made to extend to every point of legiſlation; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exerciſe every power, except that of taking their money without their conſent."

THE addreſs was carried without diviſion[y]. In the courſe of this debate, it was affirmed that the miniſtry encouraged the numerous petitions which were preſented to the Houſe for a repeal of the ſtamp act. The ſame aſſertion has been repeated by other writers[z], and wears an appearance of truth, as the miniſtry were determined to effect that favourite meaſure, although the manner of carrying it into execution was left undecided.

HAVING formed this reſolution, they would have acted with greater dignity and propriety in diſſolving the parliament. The ſame Houſe of Commons, by annulling all their former acts, expoſed themſelves to ridicule; and all thoſe who had ſupported, from principle, the meaſures of the late miniſtry, would be ready to join in a rancorous and inveterate oppoſition. Even ſome who voted with the adminiſtration, and declared opinions favourable to the repeal of the ſtamp act, attributed their conviction ſolely to the

[y] This debate is given at an unuſual length from its great importance. It is to be found in Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 288, and in the Life of Lord Chatham, vol. i. p. 497, where the editor ſtates, that the ſpeeches were taken by Sir Robert Dean, aſſiſted by the Earl of Charlemont. The whole debate was publiſhed in the year 1766, in the form of a pamphlet, intitled, "Political Debates," and to evade the reſentment of the Houſe, the place of impreſſion was ſaid to be Paris. Mr. Pitt's ſpeeches do honour to his abilities as an orator, but not to his wiſdom as a politician, or his prudence as a ſenator. Mr. Burke made his firſt Parliamentary exertion in this debate, and acquired the applauſe of Mr. Pitt; but no account of his ſpeech is yet given to the public.

[z] See Lord Nugent's ſpeech, Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 288. Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. p. 45.

arguments of Mr. Pitt, who accompanied thoſe arguments with a declaration that the miniſters did not poſſeſs his confidence. Hence a ſtrong oppoſition party was formed, and the miniſters were open to attack on all ſides. Their efforts for the repeal of the ſtamp act were attributed to motives utterly inconſiſtent with the independence which marked their characters; it was even aſſerted that they were *bullied into* that meaſure by Mr. Pitt[a]. On the whole, although the Rockingham adminiſtration was compoſed of men, who, in themſelves and their connexions in both Houſes of Parliament, united a large portion of ability and character, yet their ſtrength was ſo doubtful, that the nation could not with confidence expect their ſtability and permanency. They did not poſſeſs the eſteem of the court, were oppoſed by a ſtrong party in parliament, and the reſpect of the people toward them, as individuals, was diminiſhed by the oppoſition of Mr. Pitt, and the notion which was diligently inculcated, that by ſeparately accepting official ſituations, they enfeebled the true Whig intereſt.

THE utmoſt conceſſion agreeable to the views of thoſe who were ſtrenuous in ſupporting the authority of Great Britain, was a partial repeal, or modification, of the ſtamp act. Thoſe who followed the principles laid down by Mr. Pitt, demanded a total relinquiſhment of the meaſure, and that the aſſertion of the ſupreme authority of Great Britain ſhould be accompanied with an humiliating declaration. The miniſtry purſued a middle courſe; they reſolved to repeal the tax, without ſpecifying their reaſons, but, at the ſame time, to declare the undoubted right of parliament to make laws binding the Britiſh colonies in all caſes[b].

To eſtabliſh the propriety of theſe meaſures, witneſſes were examined, and particularly Doctor Franklin. His teſtimony, which deſerves great attention, 21ſt Jan. Evidence before the Houſe.

[a] Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 553. [b] Ibid. p. 554.

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tended to prove the ſtamp duty in every reſpect impolitic, and injurious to the country; that the Americans would never ſubmit to it, however modified, unleſs compelled by arms. He was of opinion, that the coloniſts would be ſatisfied with the repeal, even though an act ſhould be paſſed declaring the right of parliament to impoſe taxes at pleaſure; but the aſſemblies would never be induced, either by kindneſs or compulſion, to reſcind their reſolutions.

On application for leave to bring in a bill to *repeal* the ſtamp act, a motion to ſubſtitute the words *explain and amend* was over-ruled. The minority was numerous and reſpectable, both for talents and property[c]. Repealing and declaratory bills were introduced; they were carefully moulded in a committee, which ſat ſix weeks; and after paſſing the Houſe of Commons, though not without ſtrong debates and diviſions, were ſent up to the Lords.

Debates in the Lords on the declaratory act.

In the upper Houſe, Lord Camden made a ſtrenuous ſpeech againſt the declaratory bill. He averred, that taxation and repreſentation are inſeparable; this, he ſaid, was no novelty; it did not originate in Edward's or in Henry's reign, but was coeval with the conſtitution. "There is not," he ſaid, "a blade of graſs, growing in the moſt obſure corner of this kingdom, which is not, which was not ever, repreſented, ſince the beginning of the conſtitution; there is not a blade of graſs which, when taxed, was not taxed by the conſent of the proprietor." He ſpoke with enthuſiaſtic, but perhaps exaggerated admiration, of Locke's principle, that the ſupreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property without his own conſent; and refuſed his aſſent to any bill for taxing the American colonies, while they remained unrepreſented.

On the repealing act, 11th. Mar.

The repealing act met with a ſtill more determined oppoſition. On the ſecond reading, an intereſting debate took place, and the majority, on the diviſion,

[c] For the amendment 167, againſt 275.

was,

was, by no means, flattering to the miniſtry[d]. A maſterly proteſt was entered on the journals by thirty-three peers. On the third reading, there was a ſimilar debate, and a new proteſt, of equal force, ſigned by twenty-eight. CHAP. IX. 1766. 17th Mar.

In addition to thoſe two bills, another was paſſed for indemnifying thoſe who had tranſacted buſineſs, and giving validity to writings executed without ſtamps. Acts were likewiſe framed for repealing ſeveral duties, for ſecuring the trade of America, and opening free ports in Jamaica and Dominica. Act of indemnity.

Petitions having been preſented from the counties affected by the exciſe on cider, praying for relief, a committee of ways and means ordered a bill for repealing ſo much of that law as affected private perſons; which afterwards paſſed[e]. 26th. Feb. Cider act repealed.

The queſtion of general warrants was reſumed under the auſpices of the miniſtry, and occaſioned ſeveral debates and motions. It was at length reſolved, after various amendments, that "a general warrant "for ſeizing and apprehending any perſon or perſons, "being illegal, except in caſes provided for by the "act of parliament, is, if executed on a member of the "Houſe of Commons, a breach of privilege." A bill to reſtrain the iſſuing of warrants for ſeizing papers, except in caſes of treaſon or felony without benefit of clergy, under certain regulations, went through the Houſe of Commons, but was thrown out by 22d April. General Warrants declared illegal. 25th. 29th.

[d] Contents 105, non-contents 71.

[e] This repeal appears rather to have been an attempt to gain popularity, than a meaſure of ſound judgment. Lord North, at a ſubſequent period (18th May, 1774) ſpeaking of the oppoſition to this tax, and the motives for its repeal, uſed the following expreſſions, "Let gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe reflect "on a tax which was laid, upon the maturelt conſideration, on a conſumption not "taxed before, called for by every rule of equality, and ſo light, though at the "ſame time productive, that ſcarcely any body could feel it. Every gentleman "will ſee I mean the cider tax, that tax againſt which there never were two ſyl-"lables of common ſenſe urged, was repealed upon the cry of liberty being in dan-"ger: the exciſeman will invade our houſes, caſtles if you pleaſe; yet a ſmall compoſition would have kept out the exciſeman, ſo that to a gentleman of four "thouſand pounds a year, the payment would have amounted only to forty ſhil-"lings a year. Unhappily, however, for this country, the cider counties gave us "financiers, and the tax was repealed."

the

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the Lords. An attempt was made to introduce another bill, for preventing the ſeizure of perſons by general warrants, but failed of ſucceſs. The reſult of theſe proceedings was merely this; the Houſe of Commons agreed with the judges on the illegality of apprehending any perſon by a general warrant, in caſes of mere conſtructive delinquency, and therefore declared that a member of parliament ſo illegally apprehended, had a right to complain of a breach of privilege.

Act for reſtraining the importation of ſilks. 14th May.

AN act for reſtraining the importation of foreign ſilks occaſioned a joyful and numerous proceſſion of the Spital-fields weavers; and, as a ſcarcity of corn was apprehended, meaſures were taken to inſure a more copious proviſion, to prevent exportation, and to enforce the laws againſt monopoly, foreſtalling, and regrating[f].

Other acts of the miniſtry.

BESIDE theſe parliamentary tranſactions, the miniſtry concluded a commercial treaty with Ruſſia; obtained from France a liquidation of thoſe bills, which ſince the ceſſion of Canada were left in an unſettled ſtate; reviſed, and put in a train of ſatisfactory adjuſtment, the long deferred Manilla ranſom; and made vigorous remonſtrances to the court of France for the demolition of Dunkirk harbour, which produced ſome effects.

Their feebleneſs.

BUT, although many of theſe acts were important, and apparently calculated to gratify the public, the adminiſtration was not popular. They were conſidered by ſome, as officious intruders, who weakened the true Whig intereſt, by keeping Mr. Pitt out of place[h]; by others, as mere engines, employed to annul ſome late unpopular meaſures, but who dared not purſue an independent ſyſtem of conduct, and who, in affecting to counteract Lord Bute's plans, did not venture to remove his agents from their poſts[i].

[f] Debrett's Debates Journals. The parliament was prorogued the 26th June.
[g] Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 254, 385.
[h] See Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 358.
[i] Obſervations on the late and preſent Adminiſtration, 1765.

In

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It was obvious, on the prorogation of parliament, that the miniſtry would not long retain their ſtation. Even before that period they appeared to have adopted a ſyſtem, and a mode of conduct, which was not agreeable to the Sovereign. One cauſe of offence was the delay in applying to Parliament for a proviſion for the King's younger brothers. The miniſters had given ſtrong hopes of obtaining it, but afterwards, through inattention or embarraſſment, omitted carrying their promiſes into effect, till the committee of ſupply was cloſed[k].

Duke of Grafton reſigns.

Sensible that adminiſtration poſſeſſed neither extenſive popularity, nor the confidence of the Crown, the Duke of Grafton reſigned the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate, which being refuſed by Lord Hardwicke, were delivered to the Duke of Richmond; Lord Hardwicke, however, accepted a ſeat in the cabinet, and thus lent his aid to the adminiſtration, although he declined a ſituation attended with emolument. The Duke of Grafton juſtified his reſignation by declaring that the miniſtry wanted ſtrength to guide the helm with ſucceſs; he did not object, he ſaid, to their perſons, or proceedings, but was convinced Mr. Pitt alone could give ſtrength and ſolidity to government. Under him, he would be willing to ſerve in any capacity, not excluſively as a general officer, but even as a pioneer, and would take up a ſpade or a mattock. Actuated by the ſame ſentiments, ſeveral other perſons, of great talents and popularity, refuſed offices tendered by the miniſtry; and ſurely, conſidering theſe circumſtances, it ill became the Rockingham adminiſtration to attribute their loſs of power to a cabal, a *double cabinet*, or a cloſet junto; eſpecially after General Conway's declaration that he neither knew, ſaw, or felt a ſecret influence [l].

Intrigue of the Lord Chancellor.

The immediate cauſe of the diſmiſſion of the miniſtry is attributed to an intrigue of the Lord Chancellor,

[k] From private information.

[l] See Thoughts on the Cauſe of the Preſent Diſcontents. Burke's Works, vol. i. *paſſim*, and particularly p. 440.

, Northington,

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Northington, who had long contemplated their feeble ſtate, and meditated their overthrow. Soon after the prorogation of parliament, the affairs of Canada occupied the attention of the council. The proclamation iſſued in 1764, by which all the laws of Great Britain were introduced into the new acquiſitions, occaſioned great confuſion and diſcontent. The natives complained that their laws of property were overturned, and new ones eſtabliſhed, to the principles of which they were ſtrangers, and even unacquainted with the language in which the deciſions of the judges were to be pronounced. Lieutenant-General Murray, governor of the province, had framed ſeveral *ordonnances* in purſuance of the proclamation, but the board of trade, in their report, conſidered them injudicious, and ſome new regulations were evidently neceſſary. The papers relative to theſe diſputes had, according to cuſtom, in the courſe of the winter, been tranſmitted from the council office to Meſſrs. Yorke and De Grey, the attorney and ſolicitor general, who, from that and other information which they collected, prepared a report for the conſideration of the cabinet. This report contained a plan for the civil government of Quebec; the principal feature of which was, to leave to the natives their ancient rights of property, or civil laws, and to temper the rigour of their criminal code, by the more equitable and liberal ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence. At the firſt meeting of the cabinet to conſider this ſubject, which took place at the Lord Chancellor's houſe, he declared an entire diſapprobation of the report, objected to ſome particular regulations, and gave his opinion, that no propoſition ſhould be ſanctioned by the cabinet, until they had procured a complete code of the laws of Canada; a ſuggeſtion which would occaſion a delay of a whole year: he alſo complained of ſome ſlight inſtances of inattention which he had experienced: the meeting was diſſolved without forming any definitive reſolution, and before a new one could be convened,

vened, the Lord Chancellor declared his reſolution to attend no more. The reſt of the cabinet, conſidering the buſineſs of ſufficient importance to demand their immediate attention, held two more meetings at the Duke of Richmond's houſe, at Whitehall. The attorney-general, who had principally framed the report, and the ſolicitor-general, aſſiſted; Mr. Yorke gave the cabinet ample information on the principles by which he was guided, and obviated every objection to the final adoption of his plan, by propoſing that it ſhould be ſent to Quebec for the inſpection of Governor Carleton, and the colonial crown lawyers, and ſubmitted to their conſideration, with inſtructions to return it corrected according to their judgment, with a complete code of the laws and *ordonnances* of Canada. At the laſt of theſe cabinet councils, every difficulty appeared to be obviated; Lord Egmont, who recommended the meaſure of conſulting the attorney and ſolicitor-general, went out of town, declaring his willingneſs to conſide his judgment to their deciſion; and the attorney-general himſelf, conceiving his preſence no longer requiſite, retired into the country. At this period the ſtability of the miniſtry was extremely doubtful; but as the private intentions of the Chancellor were not known, their immediate diſmiſſion was not expected.

CHAP. IX. 1766. 4th July.

THE day ſucceeding the laſt cabinet counſel, the Lord Chancellor, at an audience, informed the King, that the miniſtry could not retain their ſituations, declined attending any more cabinet meetings, and refuſed, under ſuch circumſtances, to hold the great ſeal [m].

THE reſolution to diſmiſs the miniſtry was ſpeedily adopted, and the eyes of the court were naturally turned to Mr. Pitt, whoſe popularity continued undiminiſhed, and who had recently acquired a large eſtate from the bequeſt of Sir William Pynſent. The negotiation was opened by offering a *carte blanche*; 12th

Overtures made to Mr. Pitt.

[m] From private information.

and

CHAP. IX. and General Conway, who retained his ſituation of ſecretary of ſtate, aſſiſted in making the new arrangement.

1766. 15th. WHEN Mr. Pitt, thus aſſiſted, had formed an adminiſtration, Lord Temple was invited to a conference with the King, and Lord Northington. The next day, he ſaw Mr. Pitt, who ſaid, that conſidering his lordſhip indiſpenſable, he had requeſted the King to ſend for him, and make him firſt lord of the treaſury, and at the ſame time produced a liſt of perſons who were to take places under them, which he added, was not to be altered. Lord Temple, hurt at this peremptory declaration, complained of ungenerous treatment, and intimated that he could not accept a ſituation of high reſponſibility, unleſs he had, at leaſt, an equal ſhare of power with Mr. Pitt. During the conference, Lord Temple exerted every effort to effect an accommodation: he conceded that his brother Mr. Grenville, ſhould ſupport the miniſtry without either place or influence: he nominated Earl Gower and Lord Lyttleton to official ſituations, but they being poſitively rejected, he ſaid, this conduct ſhewed Mr. Pitt's determination to be ſole and abſolute dictator, to which he would not ſubmit, and cloſed the conference with ſome ſevere obſervations on Mr. Pitt's want of generoſity and kindneſs [n].

16th. Mr. Pitt quarrels with Lord Temple.

THUS was diſſolved, in anger, that connexion between the two brothers which had ſubſiſted ſo many years; which was fortified by a participation of official honours and public acclamations; which was conſidered too firm for chance, and rather to be ſtrengthened than enfeebled by time [o].

DIVESTED

[n] Lloyd's Inquiry into the Conduct of a late Right Honourable Commoner, from which the account of this tranſaction is copied into the Life of Lord Chatham.

[o] Their cordial intimacy was mentioned in a publication at the beginning of the year, in theſe terms: "As to Lord T. and Mr. P. they have ever ſince their "diſmiſſion lived in ſuch a ſtate of the warmeſt friendſhip for and entire con-"fidence in, each other, as does honour to the greatneſs of their minds, and that "true love of their country, which is the only ruling principle of both their actions. "And for the comfort and ſatisfaction of the public, I will add, that the cor-"diality

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DIVESTED of ſo reſpectable a coadjutor, Mr. Pitt proceeded in the formation of a miniſtry, though aware of being embarraſſed by difficulties hitherto unforeſeen. But the greateſt difficulty aroſe from his own ardent and deciſive temper, aggravated, probably, by ſufferings ariſing from ill health. The conſciouſneſs of his great talents, which had ſo long ſecured to him an unlimited aſcendancy in the councils of the nation, rendered him bold in his undertakings, and confident in his powers; but he was at the ſame time lofty, inflexible, and ungracious. A kindneſs, offered by him, was ſcarcely leſs mortifying than a refuſal from perſons endowed with greater ſuavity of demeanor. The bad effects of this failing had been counteracted by the more affable manners of Lord Temple; but Mr. Pitt now found that it ſubjected him to many mortifications: in ſelecting a cabinet, he had no reſource in his own mind, and no mode of conciliating the eſteem, or ſatisfying the expectations of his coadjutors, but by the diſtribution of penſions.

Mr. Pitt's miniſtry.

THE arrangements were at length made; the Duke of Grafton, not deſtined to carry a mattock, but to appear as a general officer, was placed at the head of the treaſury. Charles Townſhend was conſtituted chancellor of the exchequer, and intruſted with the management of the Houſe of Commons. Lord Shelburne was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department. Lord Camden, Mr. Pitt's choſen friend, and conſtant adherent, was raiſed to the high office of lord chancellor. The Earl of Northington thus deprived of the great ſeal, ſucceeded the Earl of Winchelſea as preſident of the council. The Marquis of Granby was placed at the head of the army. Mr. Pitt, though in fact the leader of the adminiſtration,

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" diality which ſubſiſts between them is ſincere and unalterable, notwithſtanding " the many ſiniſter and infamous attempts to divide them, contrived by the " favourite and the preſent miniſters."

took

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took only the office of lord privy ſeal: he was created a peer by the title of Earl of Chatham [p].

1766. 30th. He is made a peer

On the concluſion of theſe arrangements the Rockingham adminiſtration were diſmiſſed; they retired from their offices at the expreſs command, as they had accepted them at the earneſt requeſt, of their royal maſter [q]. Their expulſion was no leſs ungracious than ſudden, as they were accuſed of no fault or error in conduct, and they had the mortification of ſeeing many of their ſubalterns, and thoſe whom they had brought into place, follow the ſtandard of their rivals; the example being ſet by General Conway.

Rockingham adminiſtration diſmiſſed.

Compliments paid to the Marquis of Rockingham.

The Marquis of Rockingham's retreat produced ſome exhibitions of regret, and a few attempts to render his exit illuſtrious; but they were merely perſonal and local, being confined to thoſe claſſes of ſociety who were principally benefited by his adminiſtration, and to thoſe diſtricts where his influence particularly prevailed.

Efforts to render Lord Chatham unpopular.

Lord Chatham was aſſailed with all the virulence of party malice. He, who was lately accuſed of bullying the Marquis of Rockingham, was now decried for crouching to Lord Bute; he who had reſigned an official ſituation, becauſe he would not be reſponſible for meaſures which he could not guide, was now ſuppoſed the willing agent of men whom he did not approve. Though he had recently declared in parliament, that he could not ſubmit to be miniſter, where

[p] Lord Northington, as a compenſation for the difference between the preſidency of the council and the more honourable and lucrative poſt of Chancellor, received a penſion of 2000l. in addition to the ſalary annexed to his new ſituation; a penſion of 4000l. for life from the period of his diſmiſſion from the preſidency, and a reverſionary gift of the office of clerk of the hanaper in Chancery for two lives, after the death of the Duke of Chandos. Lord Camden, as an indemnity for the loſs he might ſuſtain by ſacrificing an eſtabliſhment for life as chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, to one of more precarious tenure, obtained a reverſion of the firſt tellerſhip of the exchequer which ſhould become vacant, for his ſon, and a grant of 1500l. a year on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, to commence from the period when his ſon became teller of the exchequer. Mr. De Grey was made attorney-general; and Mr. Willes ſolicitor-general.

[q] Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 255.

he felt an over-ruling influence, and that his objection to Lord Bute was perſonal, and not national, he was now decried as the dupe of Lord Bute, and contemptuouſly reproached with being caught in a Scotch trap. The city of London, where he had ſo lately been idolized, repeatedly declined preſenting an addreſs on his appointment[1]. Every engine of calumny was employed to render his conduct odious; his peerage was a never-failing ſource of invective; his quarrel with Lord Temple was unſparingly diſcuſſed; and a pamphlet of conſiderable ſize was formed by the republication of paragraphs which appeared againſt him in the newſpapers, on this ſingle occaſion.

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[1] Lloyd's Inquiry into the Conduct of a late Right Honourable Commoner.

CHAPTER THE TENTH.

Retroſpective view of the affairs of India.—Origin of territorial acquiſition by the Europeans. — Hoſtilities between the French and Engliſh. — Arrangements at the peace. — Diſputes of the native princes. — Deſtruction of Delhi. — Independence of the nabobs eſtabliſhed.—Affairs of the Carnatic—and of Bengal.—Intrigues of Jaffier Ally.—Siege of Patna by the Shah Zaddah. —Treachery of the young nabob, Jaffier's ſon.—His miſconduct, and ſudden death. — Poſition of Mir Jaffier's affairs. — The Shah Zaddah declared Great Mogul.—Interview of the Britiſh council with Coſſim Ally, Jaffier's ſon-in-law, at Calcutta. — Expedition to Moorſhedabad.—Revolution in Bengal.—Jaffier depoſed.—Coſſim proclaimed nabob.

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THE events of the laſt war, the convulſed ſtate of India, and ſome recent tranſactions, produced a material change in the nature and objects of the Eaſt India Company: a commercial ſociety was raiſed into a territorial power, and inſtead of depending on the native princes for protection, or permiſſion to exerciſe commerce, became regulators of their politics, and arbiters of their deſtiny.

Retroſpective view of the affairs of India.

SUCH a change which gave unbounded wealth to numerous individuals, and ſo large a ſhare of importance to a chartered commercial aſſociation, could not fail of exciting the attention of the public; and the affairs of the Eaſt India Company, from an early period of the preſent reign, formed a leading ſubject in the contemplations of ſtateſmen, and in the ſpeculations of politicians.

Origin of territorial acquiſition.

THE acquiſition of territorial power in India by the European traders was of recent date, and originated with the French. Dupleix, the governor of their forces in India, about the year 1748, was anxious to ſecure

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ſecure to his country the commercial and political advantages ariſing from the poſſeſſion of a landed ſettlement. He commanded a larger number of troops than was uſually employed by the Europeans in India; and, having aſcertained the diſpoſitions and intereſts of the native ſovereigns, commenced the execution of his magnificent project. The ſubahſhip of the Decan and the nabobſhip of the Carnatic both becoming vacant, he eagerly embraced the opportunity of raiſing two princes to thoſe ſituations, from whoſe gratitude, dependency, or feebleneſs, he formed great expectations. By the exertions of Dupleix, Salabat Jing was made a ſubahdar of the Decan, and Chunda Saib, nabob of the Carnatic.

Diſtractions of the Mogul empire.

SINCE the death of the great Emperor Aurengzebe[a], the Mogul empire had been torn by domeſtic diſtractions, and deſolated by ferocious invaſions; and the circumſtances in which it was placed at this period were peculiarly favourable to the deſigns of Dupleix. The people of Delhi were not recovered from the dreadful devaſtations of Nadir Shah, the Perſian[b], when new irruptions ſucceeded, and the authority of the deſcendants of Timur was reduced to the loweſt ebb, by the aſſumed independence of the governors of provinces, who refuſed to yield tribute, or own ſubjection, to the monarch from whom their power was originally derived. Theſe claims of independence began in the reign of Mahomed Shah[c]. The weakneſs of his ſucceſſor Ahmed Shah, combined with the embarraſſments to which he was ſubjected from the formidable attacks of Achmet Abdalla, a fortunate and valiant rebel, afforded the different ſubahdars and nabobs the means of conſolidating their power, and rendering themſelves ſuperior to control[d].

IN the early years of Ahmed's reign, Dupleix firſt exerted himſelf in obtaining territorial poſſeſſions in

[a] In 1707. [b] In 1738. [c] He died in 1747.
[d] Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, vol. ii. Appendix.

CHAP. X. Hindoſtan, and, for that purpoſe, diſpoſed of two governments to princes whom he employed as mere engines to forward the ſchemes which flattered his ardent imagination.

Ambition of the French.

HIS views were fully anſwered by the ceſſion of Pondicherry, Maſulipatam, and various provinces and iſlands, which made the French Eaſt India Company maſters of the coaſt for the ſpace of ſix hundred miles, and put them in poſſeſſion of a tract of country more extenſive than all the dominions which their king poſſeſſed in Europe. Theſe acquiſitions increaſing the ambition and cupidity of the French, they meditated a monopoly of Indian commerce, and formed projects for the expulſion of the other European coloniſts[e].

BUT the aſſumption of ſuch advantages by a power ſo reſtleſs and intriguing as France, could not be regarded with indifference by the other European nations, who were equally intereſted in maintaining a certain ſhare of influence in India, and who ſaw, with regret and terror, the progreſs of a ſcheme, which tended to make the whole Mogul empire a dependency of France.

Hoſtilities between them and the Engliſh.

HOSTILITIES were ſoon commenced between the French and Britiſh forces; but the two countries being then at peace, they did not engage as principals, but as auxiliaries to the different potentates of India[f], whoſe quarrels they affected to eſpouſe, for the ſake of concealing their own views. In oppoſition to Chunda Saib, whom Dupleix had nominated nabob of the Carnatic, Saunders, the Engliſh governor, ſet up Mahomed Ally, and in the names of thoſe two native princes, the European rivals fought to diſtreſs and ſubdue each other[g].

[e] Raynal's Hiſtory of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, vol. ii. b. 4. Lord Clive's Letter to the Proprietors of India ſtock, 1764. p. 4.
[f] Hiſtory and Management of the Eaſt India Company, p. 110.
[g] In 1753. See Lord Clive's Letter to the Proprietors of India Stock, p. 5.

THIS

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THIS war was carried on with uncommon vigour, and with various ſucceſs, for ſix years; when efforts were made by the cabinets of London and Verſailles to terminate hoſtilities, which, it was ſuppoſed, could not be much longer confined to the continent of Aſia. The baſis of the propoſed accommodations was a project for eſtabliſhing a perfect equality of territory, ſtrength, and trade, on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa. The terms were arranged between General Saunders, and M. Godcheu, but had not yet received a final ſanction in England and France, when war was declared between thoſe countries in conſequence of diſputes relative to America [h].

Arrangement attempted.

DUPLEIX was now removed, and replaced by the unfortunate Lally; the flames of war again raged in India, and the Engliſh, after ſuſtaining many reverſes, finally ſucceeded in reducing every place poſſeſſed by the enemy, whoſe power, after the capture and deſtruction of Pondicherry, ſeemed to be irretrievably loſt.

Events of the war.

SUCH was the ſituation of Great Britain and France, with reſpect to their Indian territories, when the treaty for peace was commenced in 1762. The importance of the acquiſitions made by the Engliſh Eaſt India Company was fully appreciated by the miniſter, and he was properly tenacious of their intereſts. At an early period of the negotiation, he applied to the court of directors for inſtructions in ſettling the affairs of India [i]. Before the court gave the required determination the Duke of Bedford ſigned the preliminaries; but an article relative to the Carnatic appearing to Lord Bute ſubverſive of the benefits to be expected from the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms, he immediately informed the Duke it was inadmiſſible. "Worn out," he ſaid, "as we are and "loaded with debt, we muſt, however, continue the "war, if that article is not altered." This reſolute

Arrangements at the peace.

[h] Raynal's Hiſtory of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, vol. ii. b. 4.
[i] Smollett's Complete Hiſtory of England, vol. xvi. p. 209,

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remonſtrance had the deſired effect; the treaty was reviſed, and rendered agreeable to the Eaſt India Company [k].

Obſervations of Lord Clive,

YET Lord Clive animadverted on this part of the treaty with ſome diſapprobation. He admits that it is calculated to ſecure to the company the benefits they had a right to expect from their general's ſucceſs, and that, upon the whole, it is highly advantageous; but he expoſes ſome geographical and topographical errors, and condemns the manner in which Salabat Jing and Mahomed Ally are acknowledged, as pregnant with future hoſtilities [l].

Diſputes of the native princes.

THE enfeebled ſtate of the French did not authorize the company to dread a ſpeedy accompliſhment of his Lordſhip's prediction; but the diſtractions and crimes which pervaded all parts of India, engendered ſuch extraordinary and ſudden revolutions, that the Britiſh ſubjects could not, conſiſtently with their own ſafety and well being, deſiſt from taking part in thoſe quarrels, which, in their origin and conduct, threatened the Britiſh power with utter ruin. Being once engaged, their activity and valour gave them great influence, and high conſideration; their aid was courted by all parties; and the overthrow of the French leaving them without an adequate counterpoiſe, they became irreſiſtible in ſeveral provinces of India. To explain this aſcendancy a brief retroſpect will be neceſſary.

Influence of the Engliſh.

Subverſion of the Mogul power.

THE ſupreme authority of the Mogul throne was completely deſtroyed. Allumguire, the ſucceſſor of Ahmed Shah, owed his acceſſion to the treachery of his vizier Ghazi ul Dien, and he ſoon found that in receiving ſo high a promotion from the hand of a traitor, he made himſelf a tool to promote views of ambition in which his own intereſt was not conſulted. The inſolence, cruelty, and rapacity of Ghazi were exceſſive, and his authority ſo formidable, that Allum-

[k] From private information. [l] Lord Clive's Letter, &c. p. 9.

guire

guire was compelled to conſpire ſecretly againſt him[m]. This meaſure was not attended with ſucceſs; and Allumguire, together with his ſon Ally Gohar, were for ſome time detained priſoners. Ally Gohar, alſo known by the title of the Shah Zaddah[n], at length eſcaped, and ſignalized himſelf by ſome exploits in Bengal, which will be related hereafter. His father was, in 1760, baſely and cruelly aſſaſſinated by the vizier Ghazi, who placed on the throne a prince of the blood, named Shah Jehan. CHAP. X.

Deſtruction of Delhi.

THIS treachery occaſioned the ruin of the city of Delhi. Achmet Abdalla taking advantage of the feeble ſtate of the empire, was joined by Nidgib ul Dowlah, an officer of the late Mogul, who was highly incenſed at Ghazi's treachery; they invaded Delhi, plundered the inhabitants, and, after a maſſacre which laſted ſeven days without intermiſſion, ſet the city on fire in ſeveral places[o]. The miſery of the Delhians was completed by an irruption of the Mahrattas, who found, even in the leavings of the barbarous Abdalla, ſome ſpoils which excited rapacity. They not only plundered theſe unfortunate wretches of their remaining property, but, after ſtripping them naked, whipped them through the ſtreets, and left them victims to all the miſeries of famine and deſolation, which produced ſuch ſcenes as cannot be contemplated without horror and diſguſt. Thus the imperial city of Delhi, which in the days of its glory was ſaid to contain two millions of people, became almoſt a heap of rubbiſh, and thus the laſt remains of the Mogul power were extinguiſhed[p].

The independence of the nabobs eſtabliſhed.

AFTER the depreſſion of the ſupreme authority in Hindoſtan, the claims of the country potentates and even of the European ſettlers, became more generally

[m] In 1759.

[n] Shah Zaddah ſignifies the king's ſon, and Ally Gohar was diſtinguiſhed by that title during his father's life. See Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, vol. iii. p. 76 Appendix.

[o] In 1761. [p] Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, vol. iii. Appendix.

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acknowledged, and their aſcendancy more firmly eſtabliſhed. The anxiety and jealouſies attendant on a recent acquiſition of ſovereignty, and the want of ſtability which accompanies a conteſted claim, laid the foundations of future animoſities, as well between the native princes and pretenders, as between them and the Engliſh Company.

Affairs of the Carnatic.

MAHOMED ALLY, nabob of the Carnatic, grateful for the ſupport he conſtantly received from the Engliſh, was at all times a ſteady and affectionate adherent to their intereſts. During the war, his liberality was diſplayed in ample donations and military aid, which exceeded the ſcope of reaſonable expectation, and were often rendered additionally welcome and honourable by being entirely unſolicited. The friendſhip of this prince was ever productive of the higheſt benefits to the company [q].

Of Bengal.

IN Bengal, the Britiſh power was not only endangered, but brought to the very brink of ruin. For ſome time after the depoſition and death of Surajah Dowlah [r], his ſucceſſor, Mir Jaffier Ally, continued to exhibit the moſt friendly ſentiments towards the Engliſh, to whom he was conſcious that he chiefly owed his elevation; but, at length, the derangement of his finances, and the intrigues of his ſervants, acting upon a jealous and tyrannical diſpoſition, produced a ſeries of complicated altercations, which terminated in an inveterate averſion [s].

Intrigues of Mir Jaffier.

MIR JAFFIER was feeble, treacherous, and cruel; and his neceſſities compelled him to have recourſe to ſuch oppreſſive meaſures as alienated the hearts of his ſubjects; and his ſon Miran, a weak and voluptuous youth, having formed projects for ſhaking off all connexion with the Engliſh, irritated his father by repreſentations that he was in a ſtate of dependence, and his government merely nominal.

[q] Hiſtory and Management of the Eaſt India Company, p. 132.—State of Facts relative to Tanjore, p. 19.

[r] [illegible]tt's Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 120. [s] Tranſactions in India, p. 37.

IN

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In consequence of these remonstrances, the English were in danger of being the victims of some grand effort of force or treachery, when the Shah Zaddah invaded Bengal, and laid siege to Patna. Mir Jaffier's cruelty and injustice, together with other motives of selfishness and interest, which have considerable influence among the Asiatic potentates, induced many of his subjects and dependants to join the Shah Zaddah, who would probably have surmounted all resistance, had not Colonel Clive, by a masterly and rapid march, arrived unexpectedly before Patna, and compelled the prince precipitately to raise the siege.

Offers of the Shah Zaddah.

Despairing of success while the English were numbered among his foes, the Shah Zaddah, more than once, wrote to Clive, offering any terms for the company, and for himself, if he would quit Mir Jaffier, and join him. The Colonel, urged by every motive of policy and honour, refused these offers, and at length returned to England, where he was rewarded by being created a peer of Ireland.

Jan. 1760. Clive returns to England.

The command of the army now devolved on Colonel Caillaud, and the presidency of the council on Mr. Holwell till a new president should arrive. The Shah Zaddah, at the head of thirty thousand men, renewed his attempt on Patna, and the hatred in which Mir Jaffier was held, together with the absence of the English forces, gave him reasonable prospects of success; when the Rajah Ramnarain marched out from Patna at the head of forty thousand men, to keep him in check. Colonel Caillaud and Mir Jaffier had forwarded express instructions to avoid an engagement till the European troops, and the intended reinforcements under the nabob's son, could advance to his aid; but Ramnarain, eager to distinguish himself, and relying on his superiority of numbers, resolved to hazard a battle, by which he hoped to signalize his own valour, and diminish the importance of the English auxiliaries. Independently

Siege of Patna.

of

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of the inſtructions he had received, common prudence ſuggeſted the impropriety of this meaſure; for the Rajah was acquainted with the treacherous diſpoſition of many of his aſſociates, and knew that from their hatred of Mir Jaffier nothing could be more probable than their inactivity at leaſt, if not their deſertion.

THE event was conformable to theſe expectations: Ramnarain fought with great valour, and was ſeverely wounded in the combat; but was defeated. His ill ſucceſs was, in a great degree, attributed to three of the principal ſubordinate rajahs, who by ſignal acts of perfidy turned the fortune of the day. Ramnarain, too deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, poſted the few Engliſh troops who formed a part of his army at a great diſtance from his perſon. One of the treacherous rajahs, attacking theſe troops, diverted their attention from the enemy: another fell on Ramnarain's rear; and a third quitted the field in the heat of the action. Ramnarain continued the engagement to the laſt extremity: but as the greater part of his army was fled, and he in danger of being made priſoner, he called in the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, who ſent ſome ſepoys to his relief, and brought him in ſafety off the field. The Engliſh made an orderly retreat, and ſuch was the terror excited by their proweſs, that they were ſuffered to march off without interruption.

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THE prince, encouraged by ſucceſs, again laid ſiege to Patna; but Ramnarain, whoſe wounds did not hinder him from adopting requiſite meaſures for the protection of the city, was now anxious to repair by prudence the effects of his late miſconduct. To the ordinary means of defence he added a ſhare of Gentoo duplicity; and by giving the beſiegers hopes of a ſurrender, and ſome other fineſſes, contrived to amuſe them, till colonel Caillaud and the young nabob were arrived within a ſhort diſtance of Patna.

Treachery of the young nabob.

THE Shah Zaddah, ſenſible of his error in ſuffering this delay, marched againſt the young nabob, and

and offered him battle. Miran, who on many occa- CHAP. X.
ſions ſhewed a fixed reſolution to impede the mea- 1760.
ſures propoſed by the council, delayed the engage- 22d Feb.
ment for two days. It terminated advantageouſly to the nabob; although in the onſet, and throughout the whole of the day, he diſplayed ſo little ſkill, and a diſpoſition ſo intractable, that the valour and conduct of the Engliſh alone preſerved him from falling a ſacrifice to his own temerity and want of judgment.

At the concluſion of the battle, Miran, who was ſlightly wounded, obſtinately rejected Colonel Caillaud's propoſition to detach a force in purſuit of the defeated enemy, and retired to Patna, where he continued immerſed in ſenſuality, and deaf to advice[1]. His more prudent adverſary collected his ſcattered forces at Bahar, and carried his arms into the heart of Bengal. Miran, after a week of indolent voluptuouſneſs, commenced his march, and was ſurprized with the information that his adverſary had preceded him by two days. 29th Feb.

The Shah Zaddah directing his courſe by an unfrequented paſs, experienced many delays. The Engliſh troops, and thoſe of the nabob, cloſely followed him, and ſent, by a more eaſy route, expreſſes to Mir Jaffier at Moorſhedabad, who was no ſooner apprized of his danger, than he collected an army for the defence of his capital, and being joined by two hundred Europeans from Calcutta, took the field. The Shah Zaddah marches to Moorſhedabad.

In the latter end of March, the Shah Zaddah advanced within thirty miles of Moorſhedabad; but here his good fortune terminated. The courage, promptitude, and wiſdom, which dictated his inroad, ſeemed ſuddenly to deſert him, and he wanted vigour to take advantage of his favourable poſition. Mir Jaffier, unaided by his ſon, and the great body of Engliſh troops, marched out of Moorſhedabad, and

[1] See Colonel Caillaud's evidence before the committee of the Houſe of Commons. Reports of committees to the Houſe of Commons, vol. iii. p. 178.

had

CHAP. X. had he been ſucceſsfully attacked before the expected junction the capital of Bengal was loſt; but the Shah Zaddah waſted his time in unavailing conſultations, till Mir Jaffier and his ſon united their forces near Burdwan.

1760. 4th April.

6th April. Returns to Patna.

DISPOSITIONS were immediately made for attacking the prince, and Colonel Caillaud again experienced the mortification of ſeeing his advice diſregarded by Miran. He propoſed, if they would give him a body of cavalry, and ſome ſpare horſes to aſſiſt in carrying the Europeans, who were exhauſted with fatigue, to attack the prince in his camp that night. This and other preſſing ſolicitations being uniformly rejected, gained the prince time to concert new meaſures, and finding himſelf diſappointed in his hopes of taking the capital, he ſuddenly decamped. Judging, from this rapid and unexpected movement, that he meditated a new attack on Patna, Colonel Caillaud diſpatched Captain Knox, with a force which was deemed ſufficient, to the relief of the city. In thirteen days, Captain Knox completed his march, although the diſtance was three hundred miles, and he was twice under the neceſſity of croſſing the Ganges; yet the Shah Zaddah, having advanced three days before him, had already reached the place of his deſtination, made two general attacks, and was preparing for a third. The garriſon being feeble, great expectations were formed from this laſt aſſault; but the opportune arrival of the Britiſh troops inſpired the beſieged with confidence, while it ſtruck terror into the beſiegers; the attack was eaſily repelled; and thus, for a third time, Patna was ſaved in the moſt critical emergency. The next day, captain Knox, at the head of his whole detachment, attacked the prince, drove him from his works, and compelled him to retreat, in extreme want, to the banks of the river Soane, fifty miles weſt of Patna.

His defeat.

War with the Rajah of Purneah.

No ſooner had the valour and prudence of the company's ſervants reſcued the province from this for

formidable and perſevering enemy, than another diſcovered himſelf in the perſon of Cuddeim Houſſein, Rajah of Purneah, who, having retained for three years the revenues of his province from Mir Jaffier, aſſembled a large army, intending to join the Shah Zaddah; but the young nabob and Colonel Caillaud utterly defeated and put him to flight. CHAP. X. 1760. 25th May.

In this action, Miran behaved with his accuſtomed negligence and obſtinacy. He halted nearly a mile in the rear of the Britiſh forces, left them, unſupported, to ſuſtain an unequal conflict, and, after the fight, refuſed to riſque his troops in a purſuit; by which means Cuddeim eſcaped with all his treaſures. When his troops were refreſhed, and he had perſuaded Miran to aſſiſt, Colonel Caillaud commenced the purſuit; they followed the route of the enemy five days with favourable proſpects of ultimate ſucceſs, when the ſudden death of the young nabob, who was ſtruck by a flaſh of lightning, terminated the expedition. The fire pierced through the top of his tent, and as he ſlept, killed him, and one or two attendants. Colonel Caillaud, apprized of this event, ſecured the adherence of the army, who would otherwiſe, according to their uſual cuſtom on the death of a chief, have plundered the camp and diſperſed; but fearful of probable diſaſters, he haſtily meaſured back his ſteps to Patna, and diſtributed the troops into winter quarters. Negligence of Miran. 2d July. His ſudden death.

A short time after this tranſaction, Mr. Vanſittart arriving at Calcutta as preſident, Colonel Caillaud was ſummoned from the army to report to the council the ſtate of Mir Jaffier's affairs. Before he obeyed this order, he waited on the nabob, for the purpoſe of conſulting with him on the untoward appearance of circumſtances, and recommending ſuch meaſures as would enable him to take the field at an early period with advantage. Mir Jaffier promiſed to uſe every requiſite exertion, and the colonel proceeded to Fort William. Colonel Caillaud goes to Calcutta.

Although

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1760. Poſition of Mir Jaffier's affairs.

ALTHOUGH the nabob's promiſes were calculated to ſatisfy Colonel Caillaud, it was equally remote from his power and his intention to give them effect. His tyranny, increaſing with his years, became inſupportable; while his feebleneſs was ſuch, that his tributary rajahs retained his revenues, and if preſſed to account for them, vindicated their contumacy by rebellion. The little money which came to Moorſhedabad was ſquandered in licentious luxury; and the troops, deprived of their pay, broke out into frequent mutinies, which threatened the nabob's authority, and even his life. His miniſters rivalled their maſter in rapacity and cruelty; famine beſieged the poor, and aggravated to deſpair the ſenſe of their other calamities. The Engliſh, who had employed their treaſures in ſupporting Mir Jaffier, and in fighting his battles, were not only unrewarded, but hated; the jealouſy of the nabob extended to all their tranſactions; and while they were ſtrenuouſly occupied in promoting his intereſt, he placed no confidence in their councils, and withheld his ſupport from their military exertions.

UNDER theſe circumſtances, the council ſent for Coſſim Ally, the nabob's ſon-in-law, a prince whoſe talents were acknowledged, and afterward fatally experienced, to confer on the exigencies of the occaſion. The propriety of a new revolution had already been diſcuſſed in the council; but the project appeared ſo dangerous, and the choice of a ſucceſſor to Mir Jaffier preſented ſo many difficulties, that the ſcheme was never ſanctioned.

May. Shah Allum Great Mogul.

BEFORE this period, Allumguire was aſſaſſinated, and by the exertions of the invader Abdalla, the Shah Zaddah was proclaimed King of Hindoſtan by the name of Shah Allum. In his favour a revolution might with propriety have been effected; but prudence forbad the attempt. Shah Allum's enemies were numerous and inveterate; and without the cordial co-operation of Abdalla, which was very pre-

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carious, the Engliſh would only have increaſed their enemies, without deriving eſſential benefit from a meaſure, which, if it could have been undertaken, would have been juſt and expedient *.

State of the Engliſh.

ALTHOUGH a total revolution was not in the contemplation of the company's ſervants when they ſent for Mir Coſſim, they undoubtedly meditated ſuch a change in the adminiſtration of affairs, as ſhould no longer leave them expoſed to the verſatility and weakneſs of Jaffier. This alteration was rendered more urgent by their own critical poſition; for although the war againſt Shah Allum and his adherents was generally ſucceſsful, the company's affairs bore an alarming aſpect. Their money and effects were conſiderably exhauſted; and Jaffier, far from aiding, impeded all their efforts to obtain ſupplies, and ſecretly intrigued with their enemies.

Interview with Mir Coſſim.

BEFORE the arrival of Mr. Vanſittart, Coſſim had often, in letters to Mr. Holwell, profeſſed the ſtrongeſt attachment to the company, and promiſed abundant compenſations, if, by their exertions, he ſhould be promoted to the ſucceſſion of the Dewannee, and other poſts enjoyed by his late brother-in-law. In an 25th Sept. interview which he had at Calcutta, at ſeven in the morning, with Mr. Holwell, who was commiſſioned by the council to receive his propoſals, he diſcovered unexpected views of ambition, urged the repeated treacheries of the ſubah and Miran to their Engliſh benefactors, and expatiated on their cruelties and murders, and the univerſal abhorrence in which they were held by the people; he dwelt much on Jaffier's perſonal ingratitude to himſelf, which had been twice diſplayed in attempts on his life; exclaimed againſt the ſecret negotiation which he carried on with the Shah Zaddah and the Dutch; diſcloſed private orders, by which he himſelf, when ſent againſt the Dutch,

* See Colonel Caillaud's Letter to Mr. Holwell, 29th May 1760, publiſhed in Holwell's Addreſs to the Proprietors of Eaſt India Stock, 1764, and in the reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. iii. p. 159.

was

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was inſtructed to favour them, in contradiction to the public inſtructions imparted to Mr. Holwell; and concluded, by declaring the ſubah incapable of government, as no faith or truſt could be repoſed in him; and if he was not removed, it would never be in his own power to render the company thoſe ſervices which he ardently deſired.

MR. HOLWELL expreſſing aſtoniſhment and abhorrence at this propoſal, and inſiſting on an immediate termination of the conference, unleſs Coſſim totally relinquiſhed his ambitious views, a long altercation enſued, from which at length the following terms reſulted:

1. COSSIM to be inveſted with the Dewannee, to be declared Chuta Nabob, and ſucceſſor in the ſubahſhip to Jaffier, and to enjoy all the poſts poſſeſſed by the late young nabob.

2. ALL acts of government to be under the ſeal, and in the name of Jaffier; but the executive po[wer] to reſt in Coſſim; the dignity of the ſubah to re[main] inviolable in the perſon of the former, with an allowance of one lack of rupees monthly, for the ſupport of his houſehold and other expences.

3. COSSIM to pay the balance of the Tunkas, as lately adjuſted with Omid Roy, on the part of Jaffier.

4. THE company to maintain a ſtanding force for defence of the government and provinces, conſiſting of eight thouſand ſepoys, two thouſand European foot, two thouſand country, and five hundred European, cavalry.

5. To maintain this ſtanding force, the countries of Burdomaan, Midnapour, Chittigong, and half the annual produce of the Chinam at Silhet, to be ceded to the company in perpetuity.

MR. HOLWELL was alſo deſirous of introducing another clauſe, importing that Shah Allum ſhould be acknowledged ſovereign of Hindoſtan; this was neither accepted nor rejected, but left to be adjuſted according to the train of future events, and the a[ffair]

cles were interchangeably executed by the council, and Mir Coſſim. CHAP. X.

To give effect to this arrangement, Major Yorke was diſpatched to Moorſhedabad, with a detachment of two hundred Europeans, four pieces of artillery, and five or ſix hundred ſepoys, under pretence of reinforcing the garriſon at Patna. Mr. Vanſittart and Colonel Caillaud alſo went to Coſſimbaza, near Moorſhedabad, for the purpoſe of aiding, by their preſence, the intended change of government. Mr. Vanſittart, in two conferences with Mir Jaffier at Moradbaag, remonſtrated the improper meaſures ſo long purſued, and, at the laſt interview, having reduced his advice to writing, delivered it for peruſal. Jaffier liſtened with attention, and promiſed to conſult his friends, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the proper means of repairing his errors; confeſſing at the ſame time, that through age and grief for the recent loſs of his ſon, he was incapable of ſtruggling alone againſt ſo many difficulties. Mr. Vanſittart obſerved, that thoſe he uſually conſulted were rather his enemies than his friends, and adviſed him to take the aſſiſtance of one of his relations, on whoſe attachment and fidelity he could ſafely rely. Mr. Vanſittart named five or ſix, and among them Coſſim Ally; but, although Jaffier allowed him to be the moſt proper perſon to aſſume the government, yet ſuch were his jealouſy and diſlike of his ſon-in-law, that he was with great difficulty induced to ſend for him, but could not be prevailed on to make him the depoſitary of his authority.

1760. Expedition to Moorſhedabad.

Mr Vanſittart's interviews with Mir Jaffier. 18th.

When Coſſim arrived at Moradbaag, Jaffier was already departed, excuſing himſelf, on account of feebleneſs and fatigue, from continuing a conference already much protracted. Coſſim declared his apprehenſions, that, inſtead of intruſting him with the management of his affairs, his father-in-law would contrive means privately to deſtroy him; and Mr. Vanſittart, already convinced that, without compul-

Arrival of Coſſim.

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ſion, Jaffier would not adopt the propoſed arrangement, coincided in opinion with Coſſim, that he ſhould not return to the nabob's houſe, till meaſures were taken for his ſecurity.

Revolution in Bengal.

Mr. VANSITTART, having left with Jaffier the letters containing the ſubſtance of his advice, was inclined to allow him the whole of the next day to conſider their contents; but being informed that this deluded man had conſulted with his old adviſers, whoſe ſentiments could not be favourable to the intereſts of the company, he made inſtant arrangements for compelling him to adopt a mode of conduct, eſſential to the welfare of the Engliſh.

THE nineteenth of October was a ſeaſon peculiarly favourable to his deſign; it was the termination of a grand Gentoo feſtival, at which all the chief perſonages of the country aſſiſted, and their wearineſs would prevent vigilance and obviate oppoſition.

IN purſuance of Mr. Vanſittart's orders, Colonel Caillaud croſſed the river, with his detachment, between three and four o'clock in the morning, and, in conjunction with the troops of Coſſim, ſurrounded the nabob's palace. They ſeized Jaffier's three principal miniſters, all men of low birth, and rendered infamous by their rapacity and crimes. Having formed his men, Colonel Caillaud tranſmitted to Jaffier a letter, written by Mr. Vanſittart, informing him what was intended, and inſtructing him in the line of conduct moſt proper to be purſued.

THE old nabob, not expecting ſo rapid and reſolute a movement, gave way at firſt to the impulſe of rage; threatened reſiſtance, and declared that, while life remained, he would not accede to the terms demanded. Colonel Caillaud, who had been inſtructed to avoid the effuſion of blood, gave time for this tranſport to ſubſide, and, in about an hour, was called into the nabob's preſence. He urged ſtrongly the inutility of further oppoſition, and preſſed him to adopt the meaſures ſuggeſted in the letter, but in

vain. Jaffier rejected every offer, and at length, giving way to deſpondency, declared his reſolution to relinquiſh the government, ſtipulating only for the preſervation of his life. To this determination he rigidly adhered; in vain was he aſſured that not only his life, but his authority ſhould be ſecured: he ſaid, he too well knew the diſpoſition of mankind, and of his countrymen in particular, to truſt himſelf near Coſſim, from whom he was convinced his life would be in perpetual danger; and requeſted permiſſion to reſide at Fort William, under protection of the Engliſh. CHAP. X. 1760.

FINDING him inflexible, Mr. Vanſittart, at length, acceded to his requeſt, and Jaffier, attended by a ſtrong eſcort of Europeans, taking with him all his effects, women, jewels, and treaſure, repaired to Calcutta, where he was met by a deputation from the council, and treated with every mark of reſpect due to his former dignity. The throne being thus abdicated, Coſſim Ally was proclaimed nabob, and received the cuſtomary homage: his election gave general ſatisfaction, and the tranquillity of the city remained uninterrupted. Mir Jaffier departs for Calcutta. Coſſim proclaimed nabob.

COSSIM inſtantly fulfilled his agreements with the Engliſh. He put them in poſſeſſion of the departments of Burdwan, Midnapour, and Chittigong, a fertile and extenſive tract of country, the annual revenues of which amounted to ſix hundred thouſand pounds. He concluded an alliance offenſive and defenſive, and the affairs of the company promiſed ſoon to become more flouriſhing than ever [x].

[x] The preceding narrative is derived from Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan; Verelſt's View of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Engliſh Government in Bengal; Holwel's Narrative; his Addreſs to the Proprietors of Eaſt India Stock; Vanſittart's Narrative, and his Letters to the Board at Calcutta; the Hiſtory and Management of the Eaſt India Company; Tranſactions in India: the Defence of Lord Pigot; and the Reports from the Committees to the Houſe of Commons, publiſhed by authority.—The diſcuſſions and narratives of facts relative to the affairs of India, are ſo perplexed with the different repreſentation of individuals, reſulting from their paſſions, hopes, or prejudices, that no account can be given on the credit of any authority, which is not contradicted, almoſt diametrically, by perſons whoſe narratives are equally unexceptionable. The manner of Mir Jaffier's

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Jaffier's abdication, or depoſition, and retreat, is thus related in a letter from Meſſrs. Coote, Amyatt, Carnac, Ellis, Batſon, and Verelſt, to the ſecret committee at the India Houſe, dated the 11th March 1762, and printed in the reports from committees to the Houſe of Commons, vol. iii. p. 252:—In purſuance of a treaty entered into with Mir Coſſim, *for the depoſition of Mir Jaffier*, Mr. Vanſittart, under falſe pretences, repaired to Moradbaag, accompanied by Colonel Caillaud, and two hundred European troops, and ſome ſepoys, who, it was alleged, were intended to reinforce Patna. After delivering his letters in the moſt abrupt manner, and preſſing Mir Jaffier to appoint his ſon-in-law prime miniſter, Mr. Vanſittart ſuffered the old man to depart, and Coſſim arrived. That night and the day following were ſpent by Mr. Vanſittart, Coſſim, and Colonel Caillaud, in concerting meaſures for executing their plan. "In conſequence of theſe deliberations, our troops clandeſtinely croſſed the river the next night, under Colonel Caillaud, and being joined by Coſſim and his party, ſurrounded the nabob's palace: a letter from Mr. Vanſittart was ſent in to the nabob, demanding his immediate compliance with what had been propoſed to him; to which the nabob returned for anſwer, 'That ſuch uſage was what he never expected from the Engliſh; that whilſt a force was at his gates, he would enter into no terms; and that it was his deſire our troops might be returned to Moradbaag.' A meſſage was then ſent in, informing the nabob, that if he did not directly comply, they ſhould be obliged to ſtorm the palace. Aſtoniſhed and terrified by this menace, he opened the gates, exclaiming, 'That he was betrayed; that the Engliſh were guilty of perjury, and breach of faith; that he perceived their deſigns againſt his government; that he had friends enough to hazard at leaſt one battle in his defence; but although no oaths were ſacred enough to bind the Engliſh, yet as he had ſworn to be their faithful friend, he would never ſwerve from his engagement, and rather ſuffer death than draw his ſword againſt them.' So ſuſpicious was he of being ſold, that, 'he deſired to know what ſum of money Coſſim Ally Khan was to give for the ſubahſhip, and he would give half as much more to be continued: he hoped however if they intended to dethrone him, they would not leave him to the mercy of his ſon-in-law, from whom he feared the worſt; but rather wiſhed they would carry him from the city, and give him a place of ſafety in Calcutta.' This laſt requeſt of the nabob's, the effect of his fear and deſpair, was immediately laid hold of, and conſtrued in the light of a voluntary reſignation. Accordingly, our troops took poſſeſſion of the palace, Mir Coſſim was raiſed to the muſnud, and the old nabob was hurried into a boat with a few of his women and neceſſaries, and ſent away to Calcutta in a manner wholly unworthy of the high rank he had ſo lately held, as is alſo the ſcanty ſubſiſtence allowed him here by his ſucceſſor. Thus was Jaffier Ally Khan depoſed, in breach of a treaty founded upon the moſt ſolemn oaths, and in violation of the national faith; a prince, of whoſe friendſhip and attachment you have had many ſignal proofs; in whoſe cauſe our arms have with much honour been employed; and by a firm adherence to whom, the Engliſh had acquired, throughout the whole country, ſo univerſal a character of fidelity and conſtancy, that the moſt perfect confidence was placed by the natives in them."

CHAPTER THE ELEVENTH:

1760—1763.

Affairs of India continued.—Conduct and character of Mir Coſſim.—His efforts to deſtroy the Rajah Ramnarain.—Differences in the council reſpecting the revolution.—Conduct of the Engliſh to Coſſim.—His efforts to diminiſh their influence.—Mr. Vanſittart goes to Monghir.—Concludes an improvident treaty, the enforcement of which occaſions many complaints.—Deputation ſent to Monghir, who are ill uſed and aſſaſſinated.—Patna taken by the Engliſh; but recaptured, and the factory made priſoners.—Mir Jaffier reſtored.—Succeſsful military operations of Major Adams.—Maſſacre of the Britiſh priſoners at Patna.—Capture of that city.—Total conqueſt of Bengal.—Flight of Coſſim.

CHAP. XI

THE flattering proſpects opened by the elevation of Mir Coſſim were not long enjoyed without alarm. If the welfare of the company was endangered by the weakneſs of Jaffier, it was ſoon expoſed to greater peril from the ſuperior activity and intelligence of his ſucceſſor. Coſſim was bold, ſubtle, enterpriſing, and of a commanding genius; he felt with ſhame and regret his ſubjection to the Engliſh; and determined, as ſoon as he had ſecured the benefits which he expected from their aſſiſtance, to retrench their power, and perhaps ultimately deliver himſelf from their preſence. He did not however indiſcreetly betray his intentions to the prejudice of his intereſts, but maintained a cautious diſſimulation till his great views were accompliſhed.

1760. Conduct and character of Mir Coſſim.

BY the aid of Major Carnac and the Engliſh forces, he defeated and took priſoner Shah Allum, with whom he, ſoon afterward, made an advantageous treaty; but, although he reſtored to the prince his liberty, and profeſſed good intentions toward him, he oppoſed, with great duplicity, though with perſeverance and

1760. Defeat of Shah Allum.

CHAP. XI. 1760.

ſucceſs, Mr. Holwell's propoſal for acknowledging and ſupporting his title to the Mogul throne: a meaſure which was rendered the more impracticable by Shah Allum's own imprudence.

Coſſim's effort to deſtroy the Rajah Ramnarain.

Cossim next availed himſelf of the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh in reducing to obedience the rajahs who withheld the revenues of his predeceſſor; and having accompliſhed this object, ſought, by a ſtrict and well-regulated economy, to prevent thoſe neceſſities which had rendered his father-in-law's government unſtable, and facilitated its ſubverſion. As a laſt effort, before his diſplay of hoſtile intentions againſt the Engliſh, he prevailed on them to give up the Rajah Ramnarain, the firm friend of the company, and, for that reaſon, obnoxious to the ambitious nabob. In this meaſure, he met with conſiderable oppoſition from Major Carnac and Colonel Coote. Ramnarain is deſcribed as a man of abilities, but avaricious, and ſuppoſed very wealthy. He was protected by Lord Clive againſt the rapacity of Mir Jaffier; he owed his continuance in power entirely to the Britiſh influence; and the council conſidered it their duty, for ſome time, to perſiſt in the policy adopted by Lord Clive. The pretext for oppreſſing this man was his being in arrear to the nabobs, but he always teſtified the utmoſt readineſs to come to a fair and equitable account.

After the defeat of Shah Allum, who immediately repaired to Sujah ul Dowlah, the council propoſed proclaiming him; Mir Coſſim appeared to conſent, but afterward adopted other views, and taking advantage of the feebleneſs of the Britiſh force at Patna, attempted, by bribery, to gain the cuſtody of Ramnarain, and, by treachery, to obtain poſſeſſion of the city gates. He offered Colonel Coote ſeven lacks and a half of rupees (90,750l.) to deliver up Ramnarain, and afterward endeavoured by terror and treachery, to ſecure to himſelf the means of ſeizing him. Major Carnac, who commanded at Patna before Colonel Coote,

Coote, had refuſed obedience to the orders of council, which directed him to deliver up the devoted rajah to his enemy, and thus drew on himſelf a great ſhare of indignation [a]; but Colonel Coote magnanimouſly perſevered in the ſame line of conduct. Coſſim had the addreſs to repreſent the proceedings of Colonel Coote in ſuch a light, that, in conſequence of ſome ſevere letters from the board, he repaired to Calcutta to vindicate himſelf, and in his abſence, Coſſim's malevolence was gratified, and one of the firmeſt friends of the company ſacrificed to a falſe, timid, and intereſted policy. Being now ſecure againſt all oppoſition from his own ſubjects and dependants, Coſſim diſplayed leſs forbearance and caution toward the more formidable objects of his apprehenſions. CHAP. XI. 1760.

Differences in the council reſpecting the revolution.

ALTHOUGH it appears that the members of the council who were then preſent, unanimouſly ſanctioned the propoſals ſtated to them by Mr. Holwell, as reſulting from his private conference with Coſſim, yet the other members did not approve of the revolution, which depoſed in ſo ſudden a manner, the prince whom Lord Clive and Admiral Watſon had elevated, and thus annulled an act which was deemed the moſt fortunate and glorious of the Britiſh exploits in India [b]. Mr. Vanſittart, although ſeconded by a majority in the council, found the minority ſufficiently formidable to fill him with apprehenſion; in this critical ſituation, he endeavoured by compliances to retain his intereſt with Coſſim; and, as the Eaſt India Company had expreſſed their approbation of his paſt conduct, hoped, by ſucceſs, to obtain the ſame ſanction for his ſubſequent proceedings [c].

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[a] See appendix to the 3d report of the committee, numbers 13, 14, 15, and 16.

[b] See minutes entered in the books, at a conſultation at Fort William, 8th of January 1761, by Meſſrs. Amyatt, Ellis, and Harry Smith; alſo a letter to the ſecret committee at the India houſe, dated the 11th March 1762, ſigned by Meſſrs. Coote, Amyatt, Carnac, Ellis, Batſon, and Verelſt. Reports from committees to the Houſe of Commons, vol. iii. p. 251, et ſeq.

[c] This and the ſubſequent parts of the chapter, where no authority is expreſſly referred to, are taken from the Annual Regiſter, 1764, 1765, and 1766;

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Conduct of the English to Coſſim.

In fact, when Mir Coſſim had recourſe to hoſtilities, it was not without provocation. The Engliſh officers, not only diſputed his orders, but, on all occaſions, exhibited their ſuperiority, with an inſolence, inſupportable to an Aſiatic prince, who could not brook a mode of conduct which tended to render him and his commands contemptible in the eyes of his own ſubjects. The exemption from certain inland duties granted to the Eaſt India Company was enormouſly abuſed. Not only the Engliſh, and the ſepoys in their pay, but natives aſſuming their dreſs and character, ſpread themſelves over the country; oppreſſed, plundered, and maltreated the huſbandmen, merchants, and tranquil inhabitants; defrauded the revenue, by buying and ſelling the neceſſaries and luxuries of life at their own price, and without regard to the fiſcal laws; defied the authority of the nabob, and terrified his officers, to ſuch a degree, that they deſiſted from exerciſing their functions[d]. Whatever pretence for this conduct might be found in the weakneſs or injuſtice of Coſſim's predeceſſor, he afforded no ſuch excuſe; he had hitherto conducted himſelf with great prudence, and fully anſwered all his engagements with the council.

He removes his court to Monghir.

With a view to emancipate himſelf from the inſpection of the Engliſh, the nabob removed his court from Moorſhedabad to Monghir, ſituated on the Ganges, two hundred miles further from Calcutta. He

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Sinclair's complete Hiſtory of England, vol. ii.; Translations in India; Verelſt's View of the Government of Bengal; the reports from committees to the Houſe of Commons; and the periodical public tracts.

[d] The following extract of a letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor, expoſes theſe enormities in a clear and maſterly manner: "I beg leave to lay before you a "grievance, which calls loudly for redreſs. I mean the oppreſſions committed "under the ſanction of the Engliſh name, and through want of ſpirit in the na- "tive ſubjects to oppoſe them. This evil, I am well aſſured, is not confined to "our dependants alone, but is practiſed over all the country, by people aſſuming "the habits of our ſepoys, and calling themſelves our gomaſtahs (black agents or "factors). As on ſuch occaſions the great power of the Engliſh intimidates the "people from reſiſtance, ſo, on the other hand, the indolence of the Bengalees, or "the

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He ſurrounded this place with ſtrong fortifications, increaſed his troops, and introduced a new ſyſtem of diſcipline; he invited into his pay every wandering European who had borne arms, and all the ſepoys diſmiſſed from the Britiſh ſervice, and diſtributed them among his own regiments to impart a knowledge of the European exerciſe. He changed the matchlocks of the natives for firelocks, and formed a train of artillery on the Engliſh model. To render himſelf ſtill more ſecure, he deſtroyed or impriſoned every conſiderable perſon in his dominions who ſhewed attachment to the Engliſh, and interdicted all correſpondence between his ſubjects and the company's officers. He began to enforce againſt the private traders the revenue laws from which they underſtood themſelves to be exempt, and ſtopped their boats throughout his dominions [c].

Increaſes and diſciplines his troops.

Reſtraints the trade of the Engliſh.

"the difficulty of gaining acceſs to thoſe who might do them juſtice, prevents our "having knowledge of the oppreſſions, and encourages their continuance, to the "great, though unmerited, ſcandal of our government.

"I have been ſurpriſed to meet with ſoveral Engliſh flags flying in the places "which I have paſſed, and on the river I do not believe I paſſed a boat without "one. By whatever title they have been aſſumed, (for I could only truſt to the "information of my eyes, without ſtopping to aſk queſtions,) I am ſure their fre"quency can bode no good to the nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or "honour of our nation; but evidently tends to leſſen each of them.

"A party of ſepoys, who were on the march before us, afforded ſufficient proofs "of the rapacious and inſolent ſpirit of theſe people, when left to their own diſcre"tion. Many complaints againſt them were made to me on the road, and moſt of "the petty towns and ſerais (baiting-places for travellers) were deſerted at our "approach, and the ſhops ſhut up, from apprehenſions of the ſame treatment from "us."

"The nabob alſo made his complaints on the ſubject, with firmneſs and dignity. "Every Bengal gomaſtah makes a diſturbance at every factory, and thinks himſelf "not inferior to the company. In every purgunnah, (the largeſt diviſion of land "in a zemindary,) every village, and every factory, they buy and ſell ſalt, betel-"nut, ghee, rice, ſtraw, bamboos, fiſh, gunnils, ginger, ſugar, tobacco, opium, and "many other things, more than I can write, and which I think it needleſs to men"tion. They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the ryots, (huſband"men,) merchants, &c. for a fourth part of their value, and by ways of violence and "oppreſſion, they oblige the ryots, &c. to give five rupees for goods which are worth "but one rupee; and, for the ſake of five rupees they bind and diſgrace an aſſam"mee, who pays one hundred rupees mulguzarree, (rents or land tax,) and they "allow not any authority to my ſervants; the officers of each diſtrict have deſiſted "from the exerciſe of their functions, and every one of thoſe gomaſtahs has ſuch "power, that he impriſons the collector, and deprives him of all authority when"ever he pleaſes."

[c] See appendix to the third report made to the Houſe of Commons on the nature, ſtate, and condition of the Eaſt India Company, No. 17 to 26.

THESE

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THESE proceedings filled the council with alarm and apprehenſion; but the complaints of the traders did not obtain much attention from Mr. Vanſittart, who was ſenſible of the injuries ſuſtained by the company from their conduct, and the improper uſe of their paſs, or duſtuck, and had received inſtructions from the court of directors for reſtraining thoſe abuſes.

Alarm of the council.

Mr. Vanſittart goes to Monghir;

BUT the violence of Mir Coſſim's proceeding, the peremptory manner in which he began thoſe innovations, and the order with which they were accompanied, that all diſputes with the company's ſervants, if beyond their own limits, ſhould be tried by the nabob's magiſtrates, induced Mr. Vanſittart to repair to Monghir, for the purpoſe of arranging differences. To his expoſtulations, the nabob anſwered in a firm and decided manner, and argued, that if the ſervants of the Engliſh company were permitted to trade in all parts, and in all commodities duty free, it would be his beſt policy to impoſe no cuſtoms, and thus give an active impulſe to induſtry, increaſe his revenues by augmenting cultivation and manufacture, and finally obviate all cauſes of diſpute [f]. Anxious to avoid hoſtilities with a prince whom he had himſelf elevated to the throne, Mr. Vanſittart imprudently concluded a treaty, which ſtipulated that the Engliſh traders ſhould pay the inland duties, amounting to nine per cent. on all articles not brought or ſent in by ſea, and obtain paſſes from the nabob's officers; and all their diſputes with his ſubjects were referred to the deciſion of his magiſtrates [g].

and concludes an improvident treaty.

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[f] This conference took place in November, 1762.

[g] Mr Vanſittart is ſtated to have received from Mir Coſſim a donation of ſeven lacks of rupees, (81,249 l.) for concluding this improvident and diſgraceful contract. See reports of committees to the Houſe of Commons, vol. iii. p. 401, 402. In defending himſelf againſt this imputation, Mr. Vanſittart alleges, 1ſt. That the receipt of preſents was lawful, and a ſervant of the company rather entitled to commendation than blame, who exerciſed his opportunities with moderation. 2dly. That the whole donation was not a preſent to him, but included a payment of expenſes and purchaſes; and, 3dly. That Lord Clive falſified the ſtatement of Bollackidaſs, the Oſtend banker, to him; while the accuſation is ſubſtantiated by the depoſitions on oath of Bollackidaſs, and another perſon. Such were the examples which led Lord Clive to obſerve in a letter dated the 17th of April 1765, "Give me leave now "to lead you for a few moments into the civil department. See what an Augean "ſtable

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THE regulations which extended to other objects of commerce, had a tendency to ruin all who, on the faith of former treaties, engaged in the inland trade. The ſubahdar having obtained this valuable conceſſion, immediately tranſmitted copies to the officers of his revenue, with inſtructions to conform to its terms. As the treaty limited no time from which its operations were to commence, the veſſels paſſing from one town to another were ſubject to the effect of an arrangement with which the proprietors were unacquainted, and ſeveral boats with arms belonging to the Engliſh were ſeized at Patna, for non-payment of the duties demanded by the nabob's officers.

1762. Rigid execution of the treaty.

THE Engliſh factory at Dacca remonſtrated that the execution of the treaty, together with the injunctions of Coſſim, would tend to ſuch a rapine and deſtruction of the Britiſh property, as would reduce them to the ſame diſtreſs they had experienced in the memorable year 1756. The council of Calcutta voted it diſhonourable, and as it was concluded without their acquieſcence, a breach of their privileges, and an unwarrantable dereliction of the advantages granted by the original phirmaund of the Great Mogul. Mr. Vanſittart entered a minute in the books, vindicating his proceedings by circumſtances, and by a forced explanation of part of the council's letter of inſtruction; at the ſame time, he avowed that his treaty was not exempt from error, and proteſted againſt the tyranny of the nabob's officers, and their voluntary miſconſtructions in executing the authority which he had unwarily committed to them.

Complaints and exertions againſt it.

1ſt Feb. 1763.

THESE diſpoſitions on both ſides portended inevitable hoſtilities, but, as a laſt effort to maintain tranquillity, a deputation was ſent from Calcutta to Monghir. Mr. Amyatt, a member of the council,

28th Mar. Deputation ſent to Monghir.

"ſtable is to be cleanſed. The confuſion we behold; what does it ariſe from? Rapacity and luxury: the unwarrantable deſire of many to acquire in an inſtant, what only a few can or ought to poſſeſs. Every man would be rich without the merit of long ſervices; and from this inceſſant competition undoubtedly ſprings that diſorder, to which we muſt apply a remedy, or be undone; for it is not only malignant but contagious."

ſelected

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selected for his moderation and mildneſs, was at their head. He had invariably oppoſed the revolution which placed Coſſim on the throne, but without acrimony, or ſuffering his diſapprobation to degenerate into a party feud. Great hopes were entertained from his character and manners; but Coſſim was inflexible in maintaining the ſtrict tenor of the treaty; he was daily obtaining freſh ſupplies of arms, and appeared buoyed up with notions of his own ſtrength and ſufficiency to oppoſe the Britiſh troops.

Their treatment.

He was not influenced by the demeanor of Amyatt, againſt whom he retained an unrelenting hatred: he even ſurrounded the Engliſh deputation with guards, and inſtead of treating them as ambaſſadors, or commercial miſſionaries, detained them as priſoners, not only diſregarding their complaints but refuſing them permiſſion to return.

MIR COSSIM, although able, vigilant, and enterprizing in the cabinet, was a coward by nature: his mind was not expanded by liberal views of politics, but was ſelfiſh, crafty, and malignant. In his inſtructions for enforcing the treaty, he made a diſtinction between his friends and thoſe who oppoſed his elevation; and his cruelty and perfidy were in conformity with thoſe low and ungenerous principles.

24th June. Departure.

MR. AMYATT, failing in his negociation, at length obtained the neceſſary paſſports, and with all his ſuite except two, departed from Monghir. This apparent relenting of the tyrant was, however, only a prelude to further cruelty, accompanied with flagitious treachery.

3d July. And aſſaſſination.

In paſſing the city of Moorſhedabad, the Engliſh were attacked by Coſſim's troops poſted on both ſides of the river; and although they landed, and produced the nabob's own paſs, were all inhumanly maſſacred.

Alarm at Patna.

MEANWHILE, the diſputes at Patna were carried on with increaſed acrimony: Coſſim was continually ſending freſh troops into the city; every thing wore an hoſtile appearance; the Engliſh factory apprehended that the place would ſoon be given up to the plunder

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plunder of the rabble; the ſuburbs were entirely deſerted, and miſery and alarm generally prevalent. Mir Mindi Khan the nabob's naib, omitted paying to Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory, the uſual compliment of acquainting him with his arrival: he carried on vigorous military preparations, poſſeſſed himſelf of the gates, inſulted the Britiſh guards, and it was generally rumoured that he was ſent for the purpoſe of expelling the Engliſh.

In conſequence of a letter from the factory, ſtating theſe circumſtances, the council reſolved, that in caſe of a rupture, and of the nabob's marching toward Patna, the factory ſhould endeavour to poſſeſs themſelves of the city, and keep it till further inſtructions. It became daily more and more apparent that an attack on Patna was intended, and Coſſim declared that peace or war depended on the removal of the company's troops. Under theſe circumſtances, Mr. Ellis aſſailed and took the city, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the fortifications, and the number of the garriſon. Unfortunately, the conquerors neglected all caution, and betook themſelves to plunder in every direction; the governor and garriſon who had fled, perceiving this unmilitary conduct, returned, attacked the Engliſh, who were too much diſperſed to make effectual reſiſtance, and, after a conſiderable ſlaughter, compelled the ſurvivors to retire within the fort; thus the city was recaptured with as little oppoſition as it had been taken. The factory, deeming their preſent ſituation untenable, croſſed the Ganges, in hopes of effecting a retreat into the territories of a neighbouring nabob; but were overtaken by a ſuperior force, and, though victorious in one engagement, were, in a ſecond, entirely routed; Mr. Ellis and the remainder of the party were made captives; ſome were ſent to Patna, and others to Monghir.

5th April.

14th.

The city taken by the Engliſh;

and re-captured.

1ſt July. Mr. Ellis and his party made priſoners.

In conſequence of theſe diſaſtrous events, the council of Calcutta proclaimed the reſtoration of Mir Jaffier, and prepared to depoſe Mir Coſſim. The ſenſe of preſent danger quelled all their party diſſenſions;

7th July. Mir Jaffier reſtored.

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sions; Mr. Vanſittart and Mr. Haſtings both entered minutes, in which, without renouncing their former ſentiments, they declared their cordial acquieſcence in the preſent meaſures.

8th July. Commencement of military operations.

THE command of the forces being committed to Major Adams, he took the field at the head of two troops of European cavalry, and ten companies of ſepoys[h], with twelve pieces of cannon: and ſuch was the improvidence of the council, that, at the commencement of hoſtilities, there were not above ten thouſand rupees, (1,250l.) in the treaſury at Patna. Major Adams could not rely on the natives for aſſiſtance, as Coſſim had excited a general jealouſy againſt the Engliſh, rendered their perſons odious, and deſtroyed all their unſhaken partizans.

Succeſsful enterprizes of Major Adams. 11th and 14th July. 9th July.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe diſadvantages, and the ſmallneſs of his force, Major Adams commenced an active and vigorous campaign. By two ſkirmiſhes he cleared the country, croſſed the Coſſimbuzar river, and attacked the enemy, amounting to ten thouſand, who were drawn up in a ſtrong poſition at Ballaſara: they bore his cannonade for ſome time with unuſual firmneſs, but were, at length, compelled to retreat with precipitation: in this action was ſlain Mahommed Tuckey Khan, commander of the detachment which ſlaughtered Mr. Amyatt and his companions.

MAJOR ADAMS, proceeding towards Moorſhedabad, again encountered the enemy, well poſted in an entrenchment fifteen feet deep, and defended by a numerous artillery. Unable to carry this formidable poſition by ſtorm, he made a judicious feint, forced the enemy's ſtrong hold, put them to flight, entered Moorſhedabad, and again proclaimed Jaffier ſubahdar of Bengal.

23d July.

AT Moorſhedabad he only waited a ſhort time to refreſh his troops, then renewing his purſuit, penetrated into the heart of the province, and pervaded the utmoſt receſſes of Bengal, acroſs the numerous and wide branches of the Ganges, through marſhes

[h] Amounting to about ſix hundred and fifty Europeans, and one thouſand or twelve hundred natives.

and

and foreſts. Mir Coſſim, unwilling to riſque his dominion and life on the event of a ſingle battle, did not lead his troops in perſon, but made a judicious diſpoſition of them to weary his enemy by delay.

2d Aug. Battle of Nuncas Nullas.

AT Nuncas Nullas, the Engliſh again encountered a force of twenty thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot; here, for the firſt time, they experienced the effects of Coſſim's new ſyſtem of tactics. The troops were poſted with great judgment, divided into regular brigades, had a good train of artillery, were clothed and accoutred on the Engliſh model, and diſplayed an order and ſpirit, which bore ſome analogy to thoſe of the Europeans. But the Engliſh army, animated with reſentment and flushed with ſucceſs, ſurmounted every obſtacle, drove the enemy off the field, made themſelves maſters of the whole train of artillery, and took a hundred and fifty boats laden with grain and ſtores.

Siege and capture of Auda Nulla.

DISCOURAGED by this defeat, the nabob's troops did not again venture to fight in the field, but relied on their fortifications as the ſole means of defence; yet neither numbers nor fortifications availed. Major Adams next attacked them at Auda Nulla, a poſt ſtrong by nature and art, protected in front by a ſwamp, on one ſide by mountains, and on the other by the Ganges. The Indians had thrown up a great work on which they mounted a hundred pieces of cannon, and it was defended in front by a ditch fifty-four feet wide, and full of water in every part except toward the mountains. The breadth of dry ground did not exceed two hundred yards and lay between the ſwamp and the river. The Britiſh commander at firſt beſieged this fortification in form, but, wearied with an inaction of fourteen days, projected an attack on the ſide of the mountains, where the enemy deemed themſelves ſufficiently ſecure. This bold and maſterly movement was judiciouſly executed by Major Irwin; the intrenchments were carried, a general rout enſued, and as many periſhed in the river as by the ſword.

21ſt Aug. to 4th Sept.

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THE enemy now abandoned all the country; Major Adams carried his victorious arms to Monghir, and, after a ſiege of nine days, compelled the garriſon, conſiſting of two thouſand, to ſurrender. To complete the conqueſt of Bengal, the reduction of Patna alone remained; a detachment was ſent from Monghir, under Captain Wedderburne, with orders to blockade the place, and to inform the Engliſh priſoners of his approach. The military part of his inſtructions were performed; but the cruelty of Coſſim fruſtrated the intended communication to the priſoners. Enraged and deſperate at the progreſs of the Britiſh arms, the tyrant executed a horrible act of unavailing barbarity. He commanded one Somers[i] to murder Mr. Ellis, the head of the factory, and about two hundred Engliſh priſoners captured with him. The Indian ſoldiers required that the priſoners ſhould be ſupplied with arms for their own defence; but were compelled by blows to fulfil the injunctions of Coſſim. So unrelenting were theſe orders, that even an infant child of Mr. Ellis[k] was ſacrificed, and the only Engliſhman who eſcaped from Patna was a phyſician, named Fullarton, who, a few days before, received a pardon from the nabob. Nor was the tyrant content with this butchery: he put to death more than thirty of his own ſubjects, whom he ſuſpected of favouring the Engliſh, and left their bodies to be devoured by beaſts and birds; a peculiar ignominy among the Gentoos: one of theſe victims was the unfortunate Ramnarain.

Capture of Monghir. 11th Oct.

Maſſacre of the Engliſh at Patna.

COSSIM, conſidering Patna as a laſt reſource, evinced a proportionate energy in the defence. His troops exhibited unuſual boldneſs and diſcipline, and made a reſolute ſally, in which they were ſo fortunate as to blow up a principal magazine; but Patna not being

Patna taken.

[i] Somers, otherwiſe Sumroo, otherwiſe Shimro, was a German, and a General officer in the nabob's ſervice; he had been a ſerjeant in the French army, from which he deſerted to the Britiſh, and from them to Coſſim: he undertook this horrible butchery when no man in the nabob's army would engage in it but himſelf.

[k] Meſſrs. Ellis, Hay, Luſhington, and ſix other gentlemen were cut to pieces and thrown into a well, which was afterwards filled up. The other perſons murdered were thrown into another well.

regularly

regularly fortified, the batteries soon destroyed the works, silenced the cannon, and made a practicable breach, and after a siege of eight days the city was taken by storm. Thus, in less than four months the whole province of Bengal was subdued by Major Adams, the first European who achieved that important conquest. CHAP. XI. 6th Nov. Total conquest of Bengal.

DEPRIVED of his last fortress, the nabob, accompanied by the murderer Somers, crossed the Ganges, with all his treasure, into the province of Oude, where he received an asylum from Sujah ul Dowlah, vizier of Shah Allum, the Great Mogul, but was not permitted to introduce his army. Flight of Cossim.

CHAPTER THE TWELFTH:

1764—1766.

Affairs of India continued.—Diſputes at the India Houſe.—Lord Clive appointed chief governor.—Coſſim protected by Sujah ul Dowlah, nabob of Oude—who makes hoſtile preparations againſt the Engliſh.—Death of Major Adams.—Mutinous ſtate of the army.—Battle of Buxar.—Shah Allum eſcapes to the Engliſh camp, and enters into a treaty.—Sujah ul Dowlah ſolicits peace—which is refuſed.—Surrender of Chander Geer.—Allahabad, the capital of Oude, taken.—Death of Mir Jaffier.—The council declare Najim ul Dowlah his ſucceſſor.—Arrival of Lord Clive.—Final overthrow of Sujah ul Dowlah.—He ſurrenders himſelf to the Engliſh.—An advantageous peace concluded.—Efforts of Lord Clive to reſtore order and economy.—Mutiny of the military ſuppreſſed by Lord Clive.—Proſperity of the company.—The dividends augmented.

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THE rapid viciſſitudes of the company's affairs occaſioned a violent ſenſation among the proprietors of ſtock in London, and the India Houſe was divided into two zealous and rancorous parties. The depoſition of Mir Coſſim gave riſe to many animadverſions, and the ſubſequent tranſactions, which at one period brought the affairs of the company to the verge of ruin, occaſioned ſpirited debates and vehement altercations. A detail of the proceedings would at this diſtance of time afford neither pleaſure nor inſtruction; and the eloquence diſplayed both at the India Houſe, and through the medium of the preſs, only reminds us of the pertinacity with which the adherents of Lord Clive and Mr. Sullivan ſupported their reſpective opinions, but inſpires no curioſity to examine the arguments which were adduced by either.

Diſputes at the India Houſe.

FOR ſome time the intereſts were almoſt equally balanced; Mr. Sullivan was continued chairman of the Court of Directors, and every effort to give an aſcendancy

Lord Clive ſent to India as governor general.

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aſcendancy to Lord Clive's party was unſucceſsful. At length, his adherents, after a long and anxious conteſt, acquired a ſuperiority; the perilous ſituation of India pointed him out as the only perſon capable of retrieving the affairs of the company; he was nominated governor-general, and commander of the forces at Bengal, and, at the requeſt of the proprietors, departed immediately for Calcutta, after receiving the Order of the Bath. Mr. Sumner and Mr. Sykes were at the ſame time appointed counſellors at the preſidency, the former to ſucceed to the government. Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, General Carnac, Mr. Verelſt and Mr. Sykes, were alſo conſtituted a ſelect committee, with ſpecial powers.

2d May. 1764.

Coſſim received and protected by the nabob of Oude:

HOWEVER irritated and indignant againſt Coſſim Ali Khan, the Engliſh reſpected the territories of a neutral power, and therefore, when he had effected his eſcape, rigidly abſtained from purſuing him, and encamped, during four months, on their own ſide of the river. Sujah ul Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, at firſt diſplayed great moderation and prudence in not commencing hoſtilities in favour of the refugee tyrant of Bengal; but the cauſe of a native prince, expelled from his dominions by Europeans, without any complaint from his own ſubjects, excited ſympathy, and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the council at Calcutta, on the impropriety of affording protection to Coſſim while he profeſſed to be on terms of friendſhip with them, the nabob of Oude not only perſevered in ſheltering him from purſuit, but ſoon began to collect a formidable army. He anſwered the remonſtrances of the council by recriminatory manifeſtos, terminating in extravagant threats, and even endeavoured, by miſrepreſentations, to influence Mir Jaffier to renounce the Engliſh alliance, and throw himſelf on the protection of Shah Allum, who then reſided with Sujah ul Dowlah. Coſſim's troops, although they could not obtain leave to enter the province of Oude, ſtill annoyed the company's forces, and the Engliſh commander

Who makes hoſtile preparations againſt the Engliſh.

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marider openly profeſſed an intention of carrying his arms into the dominions of Sujah ul Dowlah. Alarmed at this information, and anxious to retract his hoſtile profeſſions with the leaſt poſſible injury to his pride, the prince indirectly made conciliatory overtures to the Engliſh government, but explicitly rejected the propoſition of yielding up Coſſim and Somers, which was made to him as the eſſential baſis of a treaty. Soon afterward, ſome of Coſſim's troops having ſurprized a party of Engliſh, brought their heads in triumph to Shah Allum; the real diſpoſition of Sujah ul Dowlah then became apparent, and, by his aſſiſtance, Mir Coſſim was enabled to ſend into the field an army of fifty thouſand men, with a proportionate train of artillery.

June.

Death of Major Adams.

THIS hoſtile movement was probably accelerated by the death of Major Adams, whoſe name alone was ſufficient to excite terror. But the judicious choice of a ſucceſſor in Major Hector Monro, afforded the enemy no reaſon to triumph. His force was only nine thouſand men, of whom not more than twelve hundred were Europeans, and this ſmall army was in ſuch a ſtate of inſubordination and mutiny, that he was compelled to puniſh the ringleaders to the utmoſt extent of military ſeverity, by ſentencing twenty-four of them to be blown away from the mouths of cannon [a].

Mutinous ſtate of the army.

ACTUATED

[a] Sir Hector's own account of this tranſaction, given in evidence before the committee of the Houſe of Commons, is ſubjoined at length; it diſplays the dreadful dilemma to which he was reduced, and the vigour and reſolution with which he extricated himſelf, and ſaved the company. "I found the army" he ſays, "Europeans as well as ſepoys, mutinous, deſerting to the enemy, threatening to carry off their officers to the enemy, demanding an augmentation of pay, demanding large ſums of money, which they ſaid had been promiſed them by the nabob, and diſobedient to all order; four hundred of the Europeans had gone off in a body, and joined the enemy ſometime before I joined the army. This being the ſituation the army was in, I fully determined to endeavour to conquer that mutinous diſpoſition in them, before I would attempt to conquer the enemy.—I accordingly went with a detachment of the king's and company's Europeans from Patna, with four field pieces of artillery, to Chipera, one of the cantonments; I think the very day, or the day after I arrived, a whole battalion of ſepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, went over to join the enemy; I immediately detached about 100 Europeans, and a battalion of

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ACTUATED by the ſame ſpirit which diſtinguiſhed his predeceſſor, Major Monro made an active and vigorous campaign. He firſt encountered the Indian army in an advantageous encampment at Buxar, on the river Camnaſſary, more than a hundred miles above Patna. They were protected by a moraſs lined with cannon, and a wood ſheltered them on the only ſide which appeared aſſailable. Near this ſtrong poſt, Major Monro was attacked by the enemy, who were defeated with the loſs of four thouſand killed; a hundred and thirty-three pieces of cannon, a great quantity of military ſtores, and all their tents ready pitched; while in Major Monro's little army, which

1764. Battle of Buxar.

22d Oct.

"ſepoys, whoſe officers told me they thought they could depend upon them not "to deſert, with two field pieces, to endeavour to come up with the deſerters, "and bring them back to me; the detachment came up with them in the night "time, found them aſleep, took them priſoners, and carried them back to Chip-"pera. The officer who commanded the detachment ſent me an expreſs, ac-"quainting me with the hour he would arrive at Chippera with the priſoners. "I was ready to receive them with the troops under arms; upon their arrival at "Chippera, I immediately ordered their officers to pick me out fifty of the men "of the worſt characters, and who they thought might have enticed the battalion "to deſert to the enemy; they did pick out fifty; I deſired them to pick me "out twenty-four men of thoſe fifty of the worſt characters: I immediately or-"dered a field court martial to be held by their own black officers, and after re-"preſenting to the officers the heinous crime the battalion had been guilty of, "deſired they would immediately bring me their ſentence; they found them "guilty of mutiny and deſertion, ſentenced them to ſuffer death, and left the "manner to me; I ordered immediately four of the twenty-four to be tied to "the guns, and the artillery officers to prepare to blow them away: there was "a remarkable circumſtance; four grenadiers repreſented that as they always "had the poſt of honour, they thought they were entitled to be firſt blown "away; the four battalion men were untied from the guns, and the four grena-"diers tied and blown away, upon which the European officers of the battalions "of ſepoys who were then in the field, came and told me, that the ſepoys, "would not ſuffer any more of the men to be blown away. I ordered the ar-"tillery officers to load the four field pieces with grape ſhot, and drew up the "Europeans with the guns in their intervals; deſired the officers to return to the "heads of their battalions; ordered them immediately to ground their arms, "and if one of them attempted to move, I would give orders to fire upon them, "and treat them the ſame as if they were Surajah Dowlah's army. They did "ground their arms, and did not attempt to move, upon which I ordered ſixteen "more of the twenty-four to be tied to the guns by force, and blown away the "ſame as the firſt, which was done: I immediately ordered the other four to "be carried to a cantonment, were there had been a deſertion of the ſepoys "ſome time before, with poſitive orders to the commanding officer at that can-"tonment to blow them away in the ſame manner at the guns, which was ac-"cordingly done, and which put an end to the mutiny and deſertion." See alſo a letter from Captain William Jennings, dated 12th February 1764, Reports, &c. Vol. iii. p. 364.

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consisted but of seven thousand and seventy-two men, of whom eight hundred and fifty-seven were Europeans, no more than eight hundred and seventy-four were returned as killed, wounded, and missing.

Shah Allum escapes to the English camp.

The Mogul, who had been detained by Sujah ul Dowlah in an honourable captivity, but escaped from his camp the night preceding this battle, congratulated Major Monro on his victory, and requested the English, whom he considered as the only power in India capable of effecting that object, to assist in restoring him to the throne of Delhi; offering, as a compensation for this benefit, the province of Oude, or any other gratification they might require. The council of Culcutta consented: Shah Allum was received in the English camp as Emperor, and a treaty was concluded, by which he assigned to the company Ghazepoor, and the zemindarry of Rajah Bulwant Sing, belonging to the nisamaut of Sujah ul Dowlah, and they agreed to put him in possession of Allahabad, and the rest of the nobob's dominions.

29th Dec.

Failure of Monro at Chander-Geer.

Major Monro now proceeded to attack the fort of Chander-Geer, situate on the Ganges, supposed to contain all the treasures of Cossim, and the only remaining position on that side the river, retained by the enemy. This place, being on a high hill, was impregnable by assault, and needed neither skill nor ammunition for its defence; the access was steep and narrow, and the besieged could with the stones and rubbish of their own fortifications repel the efforts of valour, and deride the machinations of art. Two successive nights, Major Monro led his gallant followers to the attack of this fortress, and was twice repulsed; the Indians, taught by experience, no longer abandoned themselves to negligent slumber, and the major, reluctantly relinquishing the enterprize, formed his camp under the walls of Benares.

Sujah ul Dowlah solicits peace.

Here Beney Bahadre, the minister of Sujah ul Dowlah, presented himself, making overtures of peace, but Major Monro inflexibly refused to listen to

to any terms unleſs the ſurrender of Coſſim and Somers was firſt granted. The ſubahdar, with an inflexibility equally honourable, refuſed to betray thoſe whom he had engaged to protect; every method was ineffectually tried to effect an accommodation; bribes which might have awakened cupidity in the moſt ſtoical mind were refuſed [b]. Sujah ul Dowlah yielded ſo far as to engage that he would cauſe Somers to be aſſaſſinated, but this expedient being alſo rejected, the treaty was broken off.

Haraſſes the Britiſh troops.

SUJAH UL DOWLAH was not inſtigated by deſpair to ſolicit peace; he was ſtill at the head of a formidable army; yet though elated by Major Monro's ill ſucceſs at Chander-Geer, he did not attack the Britiſh camp, but ſent flying parties of horſe to haraſs the out-poſts by repeated ſkirmiſhes, keeping his main body with the artillery at the diſtance of fifteen miles. This conduct reduced the Britiſh commander to a critical dilemma: he could not ſafely remain before Benares, nor did he deem it prudent to quit his poſition, although he was daily more and more ſtraightened by the enterprizes of his enemy.

Monro recalled. 6th Jan. 1765. Succeeded by Sir Robert Fletcher.

WHILE affairs were in this ſituation, Major Monro was recalled in conſequence of the arrangements made by Lord Clive before his departure from England, and the command devolved, *ad interim*, on Major Sir Robert Fletcher. The honourable zeal of this brave officer to diſtinguiſh the brief period of his authority by brilliant and uſeful exertions, fortunately terminated the difficulty in which his predeceſſor had found himſelf involved. In oppoſition to the opinion

[b] The offers were twenty-five lacks of rupees (312,500 l.) to defray the expences of the war; the like ſum to the army; and eight lacks to Major Monro himſelf, which with his ſhare of the twenty-five lacks would have made about twelve lacks or (150,000 l.) for himſelf. In reſiſting this ſplendid temptation, Major Monro diſplayed in impreſſive colours the gallantry and diſintereſtedneſs of the military character. He ſaid, "If the nabob would give me all the lacks in his "treaſury, I would make no peace with him, until he had delivered up thoſe mur-"dering raſcals, for I never could think that my receiving eleven or twelve lacks "of rupees, was a ſufficient atonement for the blood of thoſe unfortunate gentle-"men who were murdered at Patna, nor a ſufficient atonement to their weeping "parents, friends, and relations."

of his principal officers, he quitted the camp before Benares at midnight, and advanced toward the enemy, leaving a party ſufficiently ſtrong to blockade the city during his abſence. Three days were employed in reaching the nabob's camp, although but fifteen miles diſtant; twice they were drawn up to receive him, and on his approach retreated in good order, but the third time fled with precipitation. Being thus delivered from the immediate preſence of the enemy, the army was enabled to extend its poſition, and relieved from the want of forage and proviſions.

Surrender of Chander-Geer.

SIR ROBERT FLETCHER, ſtill anxious to ſignalize himſelf, reſolved to attack the fortreſs of Chander-Geer, and the garriſon, whoſe pay was ſix months in arrear, refuſing to obey the orders of their governor, mutinouſly compelled him to ſurrender. This gave birth to a moſt affecting ſcene. The governor came forth, and, in ſight of his troops, delivered the key to Sir Robert Fletcher. Then, ſhedding tears, he complimented the victor, and apologized, not for his too reſolute defence, but for his too ſpeedy ſurrender. "I have endeavoured," he ſaid, "to act like a ſoldier, but deſerted by my prince, and left with a mutinous garriſon, what could I do? God and you" (laying his hand on the Koran, and pointing to his ſoldiers) "are witneſſes, that, to the faith of the Engliſh, I now truſt my life and fortune."

Allahabad taken.

PROFITING by his good ſucceſs, Sir Robert ſoon made himſelf maſter of Allahabad, the enemy's capital, though defended by a ſtrong wall, and capable of making a vigorous reſiſtance. This conqueſt ſeemed utterly to ruin Sujah ul Dowlah's affairs, and to leave his dominions entirely at the mercy of the Engliſh.

14th Jan. 1765. Death of Mir Jaffier.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the death of Jaffier Ali Khan at Moorſhedabad materially affected the ſtate of Bengal. By the law of inheritance both in Europe and Hindoſtan[c], the rights of Jaffier ſhould have

[c] It appears, however, that theſe laws were frequently ſuperſeded throughout the Mogul empire.

deſcended

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deſcended to his grandſon, the offspring of his ſon Miran, who was about ſix years old; but Jaffier, by a teſtamentary paper, bequeathed the ſucceſſion to his natural ſon [d], Najim ul Dowlah, then about twenty years of age, and whom he had, for ſome time, aſſociated in the government with him; in his laſt moments he alſo gave to his appointed ſucceſſor a letter of advice, enjoining him to continue the rajah Nundcomar, his own favourite, in the office of prime miniſter, and to follow his inſtructions. Lord Clive was not yet arrived, and the council, apprized of the meaſures adopted in England to abridge their juriſdiction, employed the laſt moments of their expiring authority for purpoſes of avarice and ambition [e]. Although the importance of the criſis demanded great conſideration, and no inconvenience could ariſe from delay, yet they acted with unwarrantable precipitation, and notwithſtanding the debauched and profligate character of Najim ul Dowlah, and the juſt claims of the infant ſon of Miran, affected to ſanction the will of Mir Jaffier, without even requiring the conſent of the Mogul. Thus, they extorted large fees from the weakneſs and diſtreſs of the young nabob [f], while their conduct toward him was replete with harſhneſs and inſolence [g]. Inſtead of Nundcomar, they compelled him to confer the naibſhip, or deputy government of the province, on Mahommed Rhezi Khan, who was conſidered both by Najim and his father as an

The council declare Najim ul Dowlah his ſucceſſor.

[d] The fact of Najim ul Dowlah's being an illegitimate ſon is ſtated on the authority of a letter to the court of directors, dated the 30th of September 1765, ſigned by Lord Clive, W. B. Summer, J. Carnac, H. Verelſt, and F. Sykes: it forms a material point in the conſideration of ſubſequent events.

[e] The company highly diſapproved their conduct; ſee letter of the 19th of February 1766. Reports, &c. vol. iii. p. 455.

[f] It appears that on this occaſion 139,000 l. ſterling were diſtributed among the council, beſide other ſums ſuppoſed to have been received, but of which no evidence could be obtained.

[g] See Najim ul Dowlah's letter to the ſelect committee at Calcutta, Reports, &c. vol. iii. 409. It is however to be obſerved, that after Lord Clive's arrival, the ſelect committee, on mature inveſtigation, declared many of the charges in this letter void of foundation, idem, p. 418,

implacable

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implacable enemy [b]. Jealous of Nundcomar's influence, they compelled Najim ul Dowlah to ſend him to Calcutta, for trial as a traitor, reſiſting the threats, prayers and importunities of the youth they had exalted; and, in this inſtance, even the temptation of a large bribe, which was offered both by Najim and Nundcomar. Moſt probably the rajah had excited his maſter to attempt his emancipation from the oppreſſive authority of the council, but the charge of treaſon appearing deſtitute of foundation, he was afterwards diſcharged [i].

3d May 1765. Arrival and regulations of Lord Clive. 7th.

WHEN Lord Clive arrived at Calcutta, he eſtabliſhed the ſelect committee, and formed regulations and covenants calculated to reſtrain the enormous and flagitious peculations of the company's officers [k]. An order was alſo iſſued for ſecuring and bringing to Calcutta, all Europeans who had no claim, from indentures, to the protection of the company.

Military proceedings.

GENERAL CARNAC, who was previouſly diſpatched to command the army, found Sujah ul Dowlah ſtill meditating an incurſion into Bengal; that active and ſpirited prince, although often defeated in the field, expelled from his beſt fortreſſes, deprived of his vizierate, and abandoned by the Mogul, was not diveſted of his fortitude, or deſtitute of reſources. He made an alliance with Mulbar, a chief of the Mahrattas, the moſt warlike tribe in India, and ſtill indulged a hope of retrieving his almoſt deſperate

[b] In order to obtain this elevation, and in compenſation to thoſe who aſſiſted him, Mahommed Rhezi Khan was ſaid to have diſtributed in gratifications twenty lacks of rupees. See on this ſubject, the reports of committees, vol. iii. p. 411, 412, 413.

[i] The character of Nundcomar was open to many reproaches; he was ſuppoſed to have embezzled a great ſhare of the revenues of Mir Jaffier; he was adverſe to the Engliſh; and the army, by his means, ſuffered many inconveniences and privations. See reports &c. vol. iii. p. 305. 368.

[k] A letter from the court of directors, dated the 1ſt of June 1764, requiring the execution of theſe covenants, was received in Bengal on the 24th January 1765, but had not, on Lord Clive's arrival, been executed by any one of the company's ſervants; and it does not appear that Mr. Spencer, who was then Governor, ever brought the matter under the conſideration of the council board, or gave any notice to the company's ſervants that they were required to execute ſuch covenants. See reports of committees to the Houſe of Commons, vol. iii. p. 315.

fortunes.

fortunes. General Carnac, apprized of this intention, by a rapid march, effected a junction with Sir Robert Fletcher in the district of Korah, attacked Sujah ul Dowlah at Calpy before he could unite with the Mahrattas, and routed his army with great slaughter. The Mahrattas still threatening an irruption into the nabob's province, General Carnac drove them across the Jumnah, and compelled them to seek refuge in the hills. CHAP. XII. 3d May. 1765. Defeat of Sujah ul Dowlah. 22d May. And of the Mahrattas.

In this emergency, Sujah ul Dowlah displayed genuine greatness of mind, still preserving his word inviolate, he permitted Coffim and Somers to escape [l], and after explaining his design to the General [m], came unattended to the British camp, and surrendered himself a prisoner, to accept peace on such terms as should result from the justice and courtesy of the victor. General Carnac received him with the distinction due to a brave and distressed prince. Sujah ul Dowlah surrenders himself.

Lord Clive deemed this a crisis of sufficient importance for him to attend in person at the scene of negotiation. An agreement had been previously made with the council, that Shah Allum should be put in possession of the province of Oude; but this project was fraught with great and inevitable mischief. Lord Clive was instructed by the select committee to conciliate the affections of the native powers, and remove their jealousy, by convincing them that he had no views of conquest, but only claimed security in carrying on a free trade, equally beneficial to them and to the company. He was also directed not to extend territorial possession, but to reinstate Sujah ul Dowlah in all his dominions, without retaining any of his strong holds, or insisting on terms which might be irksome to his high spirit, and imply a suspicion of his sincerity. Treaty of peace negotiated,

Lord Clive conducted the negotiation in conformity to these instructions, and to his own judgment, Terms adjusted.

[l] The nabob found a refuge among the Rohillas, the German among the Jats.

[m] See his letter, the answer, and proceedings thereon. Reports, &c. vol. iii. p. 416.

which

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which was ſtrongly repugnant to the ſyſtem of incroachment on the province of Oude. Convinced that any eſtabliſhment there, would only augment the number of factories, without increaſing trade; [n] he omitted the word factories in the treaty [n], but did not covenant againſt eſtabliſhing them in ſo poſitive a manner as to preclude the company at any future period from adopting the meaſure. The greater part of the nabob's dominions was therefore reſtored, but Shah Allum obtained the country of Korah, and part of the province of Allahabad, with a grant of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees (325,000l.) yearly, payable out of the revenues of Bengal. In return for theſe ceſſions, the Mogul granted to the company the reverſion in perpetuity of Lord Clive's jaghire, or penſion, which amounted to nearly 30,000l. a year, and the dewanny [o] of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa; and Sujah ul Dowlah covenanted to pay to the company fifty lacks (615,000l.) to defray the expences of the war. The dewanny was declared ſubject to no charges, except the fifty lacks to the Mogul, and fifty-three lacks (662,500l.) per annum to Najim ul Dowlah for the ſupport of his dignity.

Advantages to all parties.

THIS arrangement was highly acceptable to the native princes; the nabob of Oude obtained terms more advantageous than his moſt ſanguine hopes could preſage; the Mogul acquired the means of marching an army to Delhi in ſupport of his claim to the throne; and the nabob of Bengal, conſidering the perplexities attending his title, and the diſgraceful ſtate in which he had been placed, was ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of an abundant revenue, and an exemption from controul.

To the company the treaty was pregnant with un-

[n] Executed the 16th of Auguſt 1765. See the treaty, and the ſeveral firmauns confirming the various articles, in the reports, &c. vol. iii. p. 446, et ſeq.

[o] The word dewanny is not eaſily rendered into Engliſh. The office of dewanny was anciently underſtood to comprize the collecting of all the revenues, and after defraying the expences of the army and allowing a ſufficient fund for the ſupport of the government in the province, the collector was to remit the reſidue to Delhi.

limited

limited advantages. It tended to extinguiſh the jealouſy of the native powers, to inſure the gratitude of three princes; and ſhould they, contrary to expectation, endeavour to diſturb the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, deprived them, by the loſs of the dewanny, of the ſtrength and riches requiſite to make a formidable attempt, either by force or corruption. It promiſed to terminate revolutions, as the nabob could not gratify the expectations of the venal and mercenary, and no longer poſſeſſed a fund for ſecret ſervices, donations and gratuities. The revenue thus obtained to the company was ſtated by Lord Clive at nearly one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds per annum, and his calculation was not exaggerated.

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THUS happily and glorioufly terminated a conteſt, in the courſe of which the Britiſh name in India was more than once threatened with annihilation. The motive for hoſtilities on our part was generally mere neceſſity: the depoſition of Mir Jaffier has been expoſed to the greateſt ſhare of cenſure: attempts have been made to acquit him of the murders imputed to him [p], but the arguments in his favour are not ſupported by adequate proof [q]. But even ſhould his acquittal on this point be well founded, his incapacity and treachery had a direct tendency to ruin himſelf and the company, and juſtified the reſolutions adopted by the council. As a proof, it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that the war againſt the Shah Zaddah, protracted by him and his ſon to a ruinous length, was, under his more vigorous ſucceſſor, terminated in a ſingle campaign; and, but for the indolence or treachery of Miran, acting under the inſtructions of his father and his counſellors, it might have been terminated long before

HAVING

[p] See the diſpatch from the ſelect committee to the directors, dated 30th September 1765.

[q] See Mr. Vanſittart's letter to the proprietors of Eaſt India ſtock. 1767. p. 39.

[r] Whatever reaſons may be advanced in vindication of the policy of the meaſure, the council can claim no praiſe for diſintereſtedneſs: they *avowedly* received 200,269 l. in preſents.

It

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Efforts of Lord Clive to reſtore order and economy.

HAVING thus fulfilled one important object of his miſſion, Lord Clive aſſiduouſly applied himſelf to reſtore ſubordination and economy; he prevented thoſe rapid promotions to offices of great truſt, by which many young men had ſuddenly acquired immenſe riches, and materially prejudiced the intereſt and reputation of the company; he expoſed to due reprehenſion thoſe who by their ſhameleſs peculations had obtained unbounded wealth, while the affairs of the company were conſidered as irreparably deranged [s]: his exertions againſt thoſe employed in civil capacities gave riſe to unceaſing enmity and oppoſition, which purſued him during the remainder of his days, and his efforts to reduce the military to ſubordination, and deprive them of ſuperabundant advantages, produced a dangerous mutiny, which required all his courage and conduct to ſuppreſs.

Mutiny of the military.

THE ſeditious diſpoſition of the army has been already mentioned, and it was often ſeverely felt during the war. The military in Bengal enjoyed an additional allowance for ſubſiſtence, called double batta, which was not granted in any other part of India. It was obtained, at the expreſs deſire of Clive, after the battle of Plaſſey, but, as the motive of neceſſity had long ceaſed, the court of directors recommended its diſcontinuance. The council at Calcutta made ſome efforts for that purpoſe, which

It is a pleaſure, and ſome relief from the diſguſt occaſioned by ſuch venality, of which repeated inſtances occur, to record the exemption of one meritorious individual from the general contagion. "Common juſtice to the principles and conduct of General Carnac," Lord Clive obſerves, "obliges me further to add, "that I found him the only officer of rank who had reſiſted the temptations to "which, by his ſtation, he was conſtantly ſubject, of acquiring an immenſe fortune; "and I queſtion much, whether he is not the only man who has, of late years, "been honoured with the command of your forces, without acquiring a very large "independency. The letter from the Great Mogul to the governor and council, "requeſting the permiſſion for him to accept of two lacks, which His Majeſty is "deſirous of beſtowing on him as a reward for his diſintereſted ſervices, will corroborate what I have ſaid in his favour; and as this affair, agreeable to the tenor "of the covenants, is referred to the court of directors, I make no doubt, they "will readily embrace the opportunity of ſhewing their regard to ſuch diſtinguiſhed "merit, by conſenting to his acceptance of His Majeſty's bounty."

[s] See his admirable letter to the court of directors. Reports of committee to the Houſe of Commons, vol. iii. p. 391.

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from the feebleneſs of their authority, were almoſt ineffectual; but, the war being terminated, a ſufficient allowance provided for the widows and children of officers, and the ſelect committee having admitted them to a participation in the ſalt trade, Lord Clive conſidered this a proper time to execute his inſtructions; and iſſued orders for reducing the double batta. CHAP. XII. 1766.

A SPIRIT of reſiſtance immediately manifeſted itſelf: committees of correſpondence were eſtabliſhed among the officers, and a general conſpiracy formed, to compel a ſubmiſſion to their demands by reſigning all their commiſſions. They bound themſelves to ſecrecy by ſolemn oaths, executed bonds with conſiderable penalties to ſecure fidelity to their engagements, and raiſed a ſubſcription of eighteen thouſand pounds to provide for thoſe who might be unable to obtain reſtitution of their commiſſions by adhering to the aſſociation. May 1766.

IT is aſſerted that this confederacy, ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of numbers, meditated more than a redreſs of the immediate ſource of complaint. They determined to procure the abolition of the new covenants reſtraining the company's ſervants from receiving preſents from the princes of the country; the annihilation of the ſelect committee, and an engagement from government, with a ſtanding order of the board, that no officer in Bengal ſhould be ſuperſeded by others appointed in England, or drawn from other ſettlements in India.

THIS dangerous conſpiracy was kept ſo profoundly ſecret, that Lord Clive, who was at Moorſhedabad, was only apprized of it a few days before the intended reſignation, by a letter from Sir Robert Fletcher. Accompanied by two members of the ſelect committee, he inſtantly repaired to Monghir, where part of the European ſoldiers had taken arms. Aided by the perſuaſion of ſome ſuperior officers, and the attachment of a black regiment, he brought them back Suppreſſed by Lord Clive.

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to their duty, and proceeded to conciliate the army by a diſtribution of honorary rewards to the non-commiſſioned officers, by judicious commendations of the black commandants, and by an advance of pay for two months. Theſe meaſures were attended with ſignal ſucceſs; the officers who lately preſumed to controul the government, were reduced to the neceſſity of departing for Calcutta, after ſeeing themſelves deſerted by the privates, and many of their ſtations occupied by ſubalterns to whom Lord Clive gave commiſſions. The like event attended the ſame exertions in the two other brigades, to which the conſpiracy alſo extended.

THE mutineers, now deſpondent and ſubmiſſive, implored the reſtitution of their commiſſions; ſome of the leaſt culpable were indulged in their requeſt, and others put under arreſt, preparatory to trial by a court martial. This court, by a lenient conſtruction of the act for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion in India, would not venture to pronounce capital ſentences, but inflicted puniſhments of an ignominious nature. The governor and council, however, compelled the culprits to return to Europe, and the houſes of ſome of the moſt intractable were ſurrounded by a military guard, till the ſhips were ready for their departure[1].

Satisfaction of the directors.

THE intelligence of this mutiny produced no great ſenſation in England, becauſe the account of its riſe was accompanied with that of its ſuppreſſion; the company was now conſidered exempt from danger, and ſtanding on a baſis of unrivalled affluence and commercial proſperity.

Dividends augmented.

IN ſuch circumſtances, the proprietors of India ſtock became deſirous to partake in the advantages produced by ſo imminent a riſque of their property. They were entitled to form ſuch expectations, as in the courſe of the war their dividends were reduced

[1] See Stratheyr's Narrative of the mutiny of the officers of the army in Bengal. Verelſt's View of the Engliſh Government in Bengal, p. 57.

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from eight to six per cent. and still remained at that point. The directors, for a time, evaded the proposition by a fineſſe, but a motion was afterward carried for augmenting the dividend to ten per cent. At the ſame time, a meſſage in writing was received from the firſt lord of the treaſury, importing that, as the affairs of the company had been mentioned during the laſt ſeſſion, and would probably be again taken into conſideration, he had apprized the company of the time when parliament would meet, that they might be enabled to prepare their papers for the occaſion.

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1766. 18th June. September.

CHAPTER THE THIRTEENTH:

1766.—1767.—1768.

Tranſactions in America.—Effect of repealing the ſtamp act—and of the declaratory act.—Contumacy of the coloniſts.—Diſaſters in the Weſt Indies.—Scarcity of grain in England.—Embargo laid by order of the privy council.—Meeting of parliament.—Indemnity Bill—ſtrenuouſly and ably argued.—Lord Chatham's efforts to gain adherents.—Partial change of miniſtry.—Embarraſſment of Lord Chatham—his ill health.—Want of union in the cabinet.—Affairs of the Eaſt India company diſcuſſed in parliament.—They declare an increaſed dividend.—Regulating and reſtraining bills paſſed.—Suſpenſion of the legiſlature of New York.—New duties on exports to America.—Attempts to form miniſterial arrangements.—Projects and death of Charles Townſhend, chancellor of the exchequer—his character.—Lord North, chancellor of the exchequer—his character.—Grafton adminiſtration.—Meeting of parliament.—Reſtriction of dividends on Eaſt India ſtock.—Nullum Tempus bill rejected.—Occaſion of the motion.—Prorogation and diſſolution of parliament.

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1766. Effect of repealing the ſtamp act.

THE repeal of the ſtamp act diffuſed great ſatisfaction through all parts of America; but the rejoicings were calculated to inſpire uneaſineſs and alarm in a prudent adminiſtration. The repeal, whether conceded on the ground of right or of expediency, was a triumph to the party in oppoſition to the Britiſh government, and during the demonſtrations of joy, the ſeeds of future reſiſtance were carefully nouriſhed. The courts of juſtice reſumed their functions, and the provincial aſſemblies their ſittings: but there were not wanting many, who, by pamphlets and newſpaper publications, prevented the return of cordial affection, and cautioned the coloniſts againſt a too implicit reliance on the moderation of the mother-country.

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THE declaratory act, which, in the expectation of the framers, was to ſtifle all differences, by the eſtabliſhment of an undeniable principle, was, on the contrary, exhibited to the Americans, as evidence, that the repeal of the ſtamp act had been rather extorted than voluntarily conceded, and that the rulers of the Britiſh nation ſtill cheriſhed the hope of deriving, on ſome more favourable occaſion, a revenue from the taxation of America. The people were therefore exhorted not to forego the means of eſtabliſhing their own independence; they were counſelled to encourage the breed of ſheep for a ſupply of wool; to promote the culture of flax, hemp, and cotton, and the fabrication of ſuch of the coarſer Britiſh manufactures as would enable them, on a future contingency, to ſupport aſſociations againſt importation [a]. Theſe meaſures obviouſly reſulted from the declaratory act, and ſhewed the fallacy of Dr. Franklin's declaration at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, that the aſſertion of right would never give the Americans any concern, if not attempted to be carried into practice [b].

Of the declaratory act.

THANKS and addreſſes to the King were cheerfully voted by all the aſſemblies; but all expreſſions which could be conſtrued to imply an obligation to parliament, were ſtudiouſly avoided; and the Americans ſoon evinced a diſpoſition not to carry their compliances to any extent which ſhould ſanction an opinion of continued obedience. The ſecretary of ſtate, in his letter to the governors, recommended that a requiſition ſhould be made to the colonial aſſemblies, for compenſations to thoſe who had been injured by the late riots. The governor's meſſage was reluctantly, and ſomewhat contumaciouſly, taken into conſideration by the aſſembly of Maſſachuſſet's Bay: they did not act upon it until the inhabitants ſent expreſs inſtructions to their repreſentatives on the ſubject, and until they received information that the Lords of the Treaſury

Proceedings in Maſſachuſets Bay on the compenſation act.

[a] Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. p. 48.
[b] See his examination, Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p 331.

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in England refuſed to pay the ſums of money voted by parliament in 1763, unleſs the propoſed compenſation was made. At length, an act to this effect was paſſed; but to ſhew the ſpirit of the colony, it contained a clauſe of indemnity to the offenders in the riots, who were thus taught to conſider themſelves, equally with their victims, objects of the care and attention of their legiſlators [c]. Rhode Iſland and New York were equally dilatory: Maryland alone with laudable eagerneſs voted a compenſation, though there was only one ſufferer in the province.

In other provinces.

Unwillingneſs of the New York aſſembly to provide for the military.

An occaſion ſoon preſented itſelf for diſplaying the real diſpoſition of the Americans. In the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, an alteration was made in the American mutiny act, enjoining the coloniſts to ſupply the ſoldiers with ſalt, vinegar, and beer or cyder. The firſt attempt to obtain this moderate indulgence was made in New York: the governor applied to the aſſembly to provide quarters for the troops who were expected, and ſpecified the additional articles required. The aſſembly were ſo reluctant in taking this meſſage into conſideration, that an addreſs in anſwer was not voted till the ſoldiers arrived, and were put to ſome inconvenience for want of quarters; and the addreſs was not ſatisfactory to the governor, becauſe no notice was taken of the demand to ſupply the military with the neceſſaries required by the act of parliament. Another meſſage was therefore ſent to the aſſembly, and after ſeveral meſſages and replies, they finally reſolved not to comply with the amended mutiny act. They affected to conſider the principle as not differing from the ſtamp law, by its tendency to impoſe a new burthen [d], and, at length, paſſed an act, which, on their own

[c] Sedman, vol. i. p. 50. This conduct of the aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's Bay affords another inſtance of the fallacy of Dr. Franklin's anſwers at the bar of the Houſe of Commons. He ſaid the aſſembly had no diſpoſition to encourage the rioters; that they conſidered them liable to puniſhment, and would puniſh them themſelves if they could. See Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 337.

[d] Sedman, p. 51.

authority,

authority, new modelled or repealed a regulation made by the parliament of Great Britain [e].

Conduct of other provinces.

In ſome other provinces, the act was no better received; and, probably, the zeal of the military in ſupport of government, occaſioned this diſplay of reſentment in the aſſemblies. In Ducheſſe county, being called in to aſſiſt the civil power, they were fired on by the mob, and compelled, in their own defence to wound ſome of the aſſailants [f]. In New York, ſome ſoldiers attempting to cut down the tree of liberty, erected by the inhabitants as a token of triumph on the repeal of the ſtamp act, the populace reſiſted, and blood would have been ſhed, had not the moderate diſpoſition of the commanding officer and magiſtrates effected an amicable adjuſtment.

Aug. 1766.

Diſaſters in the Weſt Indies.

While thus, in America, a momentary conciliation produced no beneficial effects, the Weſt India iſlands, where the inhabitants ſympathized with the American coloniſts in reſiſting the ſtamp act, were reduced to great diſtreſs by the formidable devaſtations of a hurricane, which began at Martinique, and extended its ravages to ſeveral of the leeward iſlands.

13th Aug.

Scarcity of grain in England.

Lord Chatham's miniſtry commenced under inauſpicious circumſtances. From an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of rain, the harveſt failed in all parts of England; the price of bread was conſiderably advanced; and as a ſimilar ſcarcity prevailed on the continent, great alarms were entertained, leſt by combinations of monopoliſts, foreſtallers, and regraters, and by an unlimited exportation for profit, the country ſhould ſuffer the miſeries of famine. In conſequence of theſe apprehenſions, tumults were excited in many parts of the kingdom, which were not repreſſed without the aid of the military [g]. A proclamation was iſſued againſt foreſtallers and regraters, but that meaſure not being deemed

[e] Andrews' Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. p. 78.

[f] Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 101.

[g] Special commiſſions were afterward iſſued for the trial of the rioters, and ſome of them paid for their indiſcretion with their lives, though many received conditional, and ſome free, pardons.

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ſufficiently ſtrong, and the city of London having repreſented to the throne that orders were received for the exportation of large quantities of wheat, while the company of bakers had applied to the city magiſtrates to prevent a diminution of the ſmall ſtock of old corn left in the kingdom, the privy council prohibited the export, and laid an embargo on ſhips preparing to ſail with cargoes of grain. Lord Chatham was prevented by illneſs from attending the council, but, in writing, recommended the meaſure [h].

Embargo laid.

Meeting of parliament. 11th Nov.

THE ſcarcity formed the principal topic of the King's ſpeech, and was aſſigned as a reaſon for convening the parliament early, to deliberate on a matter ſo important, and particularly affecting the poor. "The urgency of the neceſſity," the King obſerved, "called upon me, in the mean time, to exert my authority for the preſervation of the public ſafety, againſt a growing calamity, which could not admit of delay. I have therefore, by the advice of my privy council, laid an embargo on wheat and wheat-flour going out of the kingdom, until the advice of parliament could be taken." The King then recommended to make further proviſions, if neceſſary, with reſpect to the dearneſs of corn, and mentioned, with regret, the ſpirit of inſurrection diſplayed in many parts of the kingdom.

THE addreſs was oppoſed in both houſes, and amendments moved, importing an intention to bring in a bill for indemnifying thoſe who had adviſed the embargo.

Indemnity Bill.

THE amendments were rejected; but the miniſtry having introduced a bill of indemnity in favour of the officers who had acted under the orders of council, ſeveral animated debates enſued, in which their conduct was ſeverely arraigned. The aſſumption of a prerogative to diſpenſe with an exiſting law, under any circumſtances, or for any motive, was decried as unconſtitutional and dangerous, and tending

[h] Life of Lord Chatham, vol. ii. p 39.

directly

directly to eſtabliſh an unqualified and unlimited tyranny. Thoſe who adviſed the meaſure were no leſs open to cenſure than the officers who carried it into execution; and therefore an amendment was moved, including the miniſters in the operation of the bill.

Miniſtry defended by Lord Chatham.

LORD CHATHAM alleged, in juſtification of the miniſtry, that the neceſſity of the ſtate, to which every conſideration of a mere legal nature muſt bend, required the meaſure. The act itſelf, he contended, was wiſe and neceſſary, and the prohibition a legal exerciſe of a legal prerogative. He ſupported his opinions by reading ſome paſſages from Locke on Government. He maintained, that neither he nor his colleagues needed an indemnity; and declared it to be the right and duty of the crown to ſuſpend the execution of a law, for the ſafety of the people.

By Lord Camden.

LORD CAMDEN, in ſupporting the ſame opinion, argued ſtrongly in vindication of thoſe, who, on an obvious neceſſity, had done an act which no exiſting law could be produced to juſtify. The neceſſity of a meaſure, he obſerved, renders it not only excuſable, but legal: and conſequently, a judge, when the neceſſity is proved, may without heſitation declare that act legal, which would be clearly illegal where ſuch neceſſity did not exiſt. The crown is the ſole executive power, and is therefore intruſted by the conſtitution to take upon itſelf whatever the ſafety of the ſtate may require, during the receſs of parliament, which is at moſt but a forty days tyranny. He concluded by obſerving, that the power exerciſed on this occaſion was ſo moderate and beneficial, that Junius Brutus would not have heſitated to intruſt it, even to the diſcretion of a Nero.

Oppoſed by Lords Mansfield, Temple, and Lyttleton.

THESE arguments were combated by Lords Manſfield, Temple, and Lyttleton. They denied that any ſuſpending or diſpenſing power was, or ought to be, veſted in the crown; on the contrary, during the receſs of parliament, the King himſelf was as much

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ſubject to the law as any other individual, and could not alter or impede its courſe. The danger of ſuch a prerogative had been frequently adverted to in parliament, and particularly in the bill of rights, the preamble of which expreſsly mentions the evils reſulting to the kingdom from the practice adopted by James II. of aſſuming a power to diſpenſe with, and ſuſpend, the execution of laws without the conſent of parliament. Lord Chatham was accuſed of perverting the genuine ſenſe of Locke in his quotation; and the effect of the paſſage on which he founded his argument was forcibly contraſted with the uſe he had made of that author in the laſt ſeſſion. "The laſt ſeſſion of parliament," it was ſaid, "ſet out with the wildeſt doctrines, extracted piece-meal from that ſame Mr. Locke, in favour of liberty; of liberty run mad with notions extravagant, ridiculous, exploded, and, thank God! by the whole legiſlature condemned. This ſeſſion begins with doctrines again extracted alſo piece-meal by the ſame perſons, from the ſame author, trumpeting forth a tone of tyranny more hateful and more dangerous, becauſe more extenſive, than any promulgated in the worſt reign of the worſt of the Stuarts." That the act in queſtion had for its object the good of the people, was denied to be a ſufficient argument to prove no indemnity requiſite. The wildeſt bigot in the cauſe of arbitrary power would not pretend that any prerogative could or ought to be exerciſed but for the good of the people, and precedents were adduced to prove that ſuch acts unqueſtionably founded on that motive, had, in former times, been the objects of parliamentary indemnity. An expreſſion uſed by Lord Camden, that the right thus aſſumed could only amount to a forty days tyranny, was treated with great ſeverity. "Forty days tyranny!" one of the ſpeakers exclaimed, "my Lords, tyranny is a harſh ſound. I deteſt the very word, becauſe I hate the thing. But are theſe words to come from a noble Lord, whoſe glory it might

and

and ought to have been, to have riſen by ſteps that liberty threw in his way, and to have been honoured as his country has honoured him, not for trampling her under foot, but for holding up her head. I have uſed my beſt endeavours to anſwer the argument which is the foundation of the diſtinction to which the forty days alludes, by argument founded in principles; I will now give the noble Lord one anſwer more, and it ſhall be *argumentum ad hominem*. That noble Lord has, I believe, ſaid on other occaſions, and he ſaid well, that the price of one hour's Engliſh liberty none could tell but an Engliſh jury; and juries, under the guidance of a certain noble Lord, have eſtimated it very high, in the caſe of the meaneſt of the ſubjects, when oppreſſed only by the ſervants of the ſtate. But forty days tyranny over the nation by the crown! — who can endure the thought? My Lords, leſs than forty days tyranny, ſuch as this country has felt in ſome times, would, I believe, bring your lordſhips together without a ſummons, from your ſick beds, riding even upon poſt horſes, in hot weather, faſter than our great patriots themſelves to get a place or a penſion, or both; and, for aught I know, make the ſubject of your conſultations that appeal to heaven which has been ſpoken of. Yet eſtabliſh a diſpenſing power, and you cannot be ſure of either liberty or law for forty minutes."

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ADVERTING to the defence which miniſters offered for their conduct, it was ſaid: "The noble and learned Lord ſpeaks of meritorious criminality as ſtrange; and it would be ſo. But meritorious illegality is not ſo ſtrange, or an action meritorious in itſelf, and happy in its effects, though againſt law. The merit conſiſts in running the riſk of the law, for the public good; as in the inſtance alluded to by the other noble and learned Lord on the croſs bench, of the Roman General who fought againſt orders, and was rewarded for ſaving his country. On the other hand, if an act is authorized by law, there can

be

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be no ſuch riſk, or conſequently any other merit than that of doing one's duty. I agree with the noble Lord who holds the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate, that he would be a poor miniſter indeed, who would not run ſuch a riſk, when the ſafety of the ſtate required it. I will ſay, that without being miniſter, as an inferior magiſtrate, or even as a private ſubject, I ſhould not heſitate, upon good ground of public ſafety, to ſtop, if I could, any ſhip from ſailing out of port, to the deſtruction of the ſtate, although no embargo ſubſiſted; and in this caſe, if miniſters had held to the juſtification of the particular act upon the circumſtances, they had done well. But they have juſtified the act, by maintaining a power which I cannot acknowledge. I blame not the crown, nor the adviſers of the crown, for diſpenſing good, nor do I wiſh to hold out to the people a violation of the conſtitution; but I will blame miniſters for aſſerting a prerogative in the crown, which, inſtead of diſpenſing good, would diſpenſe much evil; and if they will hold out a power unconſtitutional, and deſtructive of the vitals of the conſtitution, they muſt excuſe others for holding up the barrier againſt ſuch a power, and defending the conſtitution. I think prerogative is a power, and it is a duty alſo to protect the people; but I think a diſpenſing power is no part of the prerogative, and equally againſt the duty of the prerogative, and the ſafety and protection of the people: and I am aſtoniſhed how a Houſe of Lords could have patience to ſit and hear ſo much of it. The diſpenſing and ſuſpending power, and the raiſing of money without conſent of Parliament, were declared to be preciſely alike, and ſtanding upon the very ſame ground; they were born twins; they lived together, and together were buried in the ſame grave at the revolution, paſt all power of reſurrection. If a difference were made between raiſing money, and the ſuſpending or diſpenſing power, the ſuſpending and diſpenſing power muſt be conſidered as the moſt dangerous, as that which might do moſt univerſal miſchief,

and

and with the greateſt ſpeed, as it includes the whole. Raſhly and wilfully to claim or exerciſe, as prerogative, a power clearly againſt law, is too great boldneſs for this country; and the ſuſpending or diſpenſing power, that edged tool which has cut ſo deep, is the laſt that any man in his wits would handle in England: that rock which the Engliſh Hiſtory has warned againſt with ſuch awful beacons: an attempt that loſt one Prince his crown and his head; and that at length expelled their family out of this land of liberty to the regions of tyranny, as the only climate that ſuited their temper and genius; a power, the exerciſe of which ſtands branded, as the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, in the front of that truly great character of your liberties, the bill of rights. A miniſter who is not afraid of that power, is neither fit for the ſovereign nor the ſubject[i]."

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THESE juſt and forcible objections to the conduct of the miniſtry, muſt yield to the irreſiſtible argument of public neceſſity; but on every conſtitutional principle, an act of indemnity was indiſpenſably requiſite. The queſtion was, on the whole, one of abſtract theory: the neceſſity of the embargo was univerſally admitted, and although the debates were violent, and the amendment rejected, no proteſt appears on the journals. The Parliament, in fact, ſanctioned the proceeding of miniſtry by an addreſs to the King, requeſting him to continue the embargo, and extend it to ſeveral other ſpecies of grain [k].

THE oppoſition to Lord Chatham's miniſtry was not unexpected. The eſtrangement of Lord Temple

Lord Chatham's efforts to gain adherents.

[i] No details are preſerved of this debate. All that is known reſpecting the progreſs of the bill through the Houſe of Commons is, that in his eagerneſs to defend Lord Chatham, Alderman Beckford permitted himſelf to uſe an expreſſion, aſſerting the King's diſpenſing power in terms ſo unqualified, that his words were taken down, and he was obliged to apologize. The account of the debate here given is taken from a pamphlet, called, "A Speech againſt the Suſpending and Diſpenſing Prerogative." It was ſuppoſed to be penned by Lord Mansfield, but was, in fact, written by a gentleman at the bar, under the direction of Lord Temple, and with the aſſiſtance of Lord Lyttleton.

[k] See Debates and Journals.

deprived

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deprived him of many adherents, and a formidable coalition of parties was formed againſt him. Anxious to break this combination, he made overtures to the Duke of Bedford. In a conference at Bath, he ſtated the principal meaſures which he intended to purſue; to maintain the inviolate obſervance of the peace, to avoid continental connexions and ſubſidies, and to obſerve a rigid economy. The Duke ſaid theſe were his own meaſures, and declared his reſolution to ſupport them, whether his friends were in or out of office. The topic of America was carefully avoided by both parties.

September.

THIS interview being underſtood by the Duke, as well as the miniſter, as merely preparatory to another, the Bedford party took little ſhare in the early debates of the ſeſſion: yet the oppoſition encountered by Lord Chatham formed a ſtriking contraſt to the conſtant approbation which awaited the meaſures of his laſt adminiſtration, and he felt this change with great ſenſibility. He found it neceſſary to gain new friends, and enfeeble his opponents; but his endeavours failed of ſucceſs. The harſh manner in which he diſmiſſed Lord Edgcumbe from the appointment of treaſurer of the houſehold, with a view to gratify the Duke of Newcaſtle by beſtowing it on Sir John Shelly, the Duke's near relation, diſguſted many reſpectable members of adminiſtration. The Duke of Portland, the Earls of Beſborough and Scarborough, and Lord Monſon, withdrew their ſupport, and Sir Charles Saunders, Sir William Meredith, and Admiral Keppel, reſigned their places at the board of Admiralty.

24th Nov. Partial change of miniſtry.

26th.

To counterbalance this defection, Lord Chatham renewed his overtures to the Duke of Bedford, and, as an introductory meaſure, offered the firſt ſituation at the Admiralty to Lord Gower, who inſtantly repaired to Wooburn for the purpoſe of conſulting the Duke. During his abſence, Lord Chatham made a different arrangement. The place of firſt lord of the Admiralty was given to Sir Edward Hawke; the other

Chagrin of the Duke of Bedford.

2 vacant

vacant ſeats at the board were filled by Mr. Jenkinſon and Sir Piercy Brett; and Lord Hillſborough and Lord Le Deſpencer were appointed joint poſtmaſters. On his arrival in town, the Duke of Bedford required of the miniſter places for ſeveral of his friends, but was mortified with the information that no offices were reſerved, and even that which has been offered to Lord Gower was diſpoſed of. CHAP. XIII. 1766.

THIS whole tranſaction is involved in impenetrable myſtery: the conduct of Lord Chatham indicates embarraſſment and precipitation. Although theſe appointments ſerved to fill up the vacancies, and complete the numbers of adminiſtration, no addition of ſtrength was acquired: the adherents of the Duke of Bedford were diſguſted, and thoſe who accepted offices were not conciliated. Lord Chatham was in a ſimilar ſituation to that of Lord Bute at the cloſe of his adminiſtration; the creator of a cabinet who neither loved nor reſpected him, oppoſed by a numerous, able, and active party, diveſted of popularity, and ſuſtained only by the King. Embarraſſment of Lord Chatham.

THESE circumſtances, ſo new, and ſo inſupportable to his ardent and commanding ſpirit, produced violent effects on his conſtitution. The gout tormented him inceſſantly, and the agitation of his mind, no leſs than his corporeal ſufferings, impelled him to frequent change of reſidence. From London he went to Bath; diſſatisfied with Bath, he attempted to return to London, but was detained by his diſorder at Marlborough; he next retired to Hampſtead, but ſoon diſliked that ſituation, and repurchaſed his former reſidence at Hayes. His mind was agitated by paſſions inimical to his repoſe, and his ſpirits were occaſionally depreſſed almoſt to deſpondency. He was unable to attend public buſineſs, and the other members of the cabinet, conſidering his health irreparably injured, projected new arrangements, and adopted meaſures not only without conſulting him, but in direct oppoſition to his known His ill health. Feb. 1767. March.

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known opinions[l]. Such was the ſituation to which that great miniſter was reduced, who had recently declared in the cabinet, his reſolution not to ſanction meaſures which he was not allowed to guide. Such were the conſequences of forming, what Mr. Burke afterward, with no leſs wit than truth, deſcribed as, "a checkered and ſpeckled adminiſtration; a piece of joinery, ſo croſsly indented and whimſically dove-tailed; a cabinet ſo variouſly inlaid; here a bit of black ſtone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; King's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends, and open enemies;—that it was indeed a very curious ſhew, but utterly unſafe to touch and unſure to ſtand on." The ſame author, purſuing the ſubject, has obſerved, "when his Lordſhip had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to ſtand upon; when he had accompliſhed his ſcheme of adminiſtration he was no longer a miniſter[m]."

Want of union in the cabinet.

THE want of union in the cabinet was evident in many of the proceedings in parliament. When the chancellor of the exchequer propoſed the land-tax in the committee, he ſtated it at four ſhillings in the pound: "A ſum," he added, "neceſſary for one year longer, to give room for the moſt brilliant operation of finance ever ſeen in England; to enſure to us dignity abroad, ſtability at home, and enable us to enter with advantage into any future war." The propoſition was reſiſted by the country gentlemen, who contended for the reduction of the land-tax, according to the uſual practice in times of peace, to three ſhillings in the pound, and derided the mighty conſequences which were promiſed to reſult from the additional ſhilling, as it would produce only five hundred thou[illegible]d pounds. Mr. Charles Townſhend not having prepared his friends to ſupport his propoſition, the new adherents of miniſtry declared that the land-tax ought

[l] From the Life of Lord Chatham, vol. ii. chapters 32 and 33.

[m] Speech on American Taxation. Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 564, quarto.

to

to be perpetuated at four ſhillings in the pound. This opinion was combated with much aſperity, and treated as a breach of faith. An amendment, changing the ſupply from four to three ſhillings, was moved by Mr. Grenville, and carried by a majority of eighteen [n]. Thus the chancellor of the exchequer was in a minority on a queſtion of finance: an extraordinary indication of weakneſs in the cabinet.

Affairs of the Eaſt India Company.

THE diſunion of the miniſtry was no leſs perceptible in the affairs of the Eaſt India Company, which in purſuance of the intimation to the directors, early occupied the attention of parliament. Their charters, treaties with the country powers, letters, and correſpondence with their ſervants in India; the ſtate of their revenues in Bengal, Bahar, Oriſſa, and all other places, were ordered to be laid before the Houſe, together with an account of all expences incurred by government on the Company's behalf. Violent debates enſued, and a petition being preſented from the company, the order for printing the private correſpondence was diſcharged. This extenſive enquiry introduced the diſcuſſion of many relative and collateral topics, and among others a doubt was ſuggeſted concerning the right of the company to the territories acquired in India. The agitation of this queſtion produced many animated ſpeeches; the interference of the Houſe of Commons was ſtrongly deprecated; it was urged that the difficulty might be ſolved in the courts below, that houſe not being by the conſtitution, the interpreter of laws, or the decider of legal rights.

THE chancellor of the exchequer declared his diſinclination to try the queſtion in the houſe, and recommended an amicable agreement with the company. A large party of the proprietors, though ſtrenuous in maintaining their claim to thoſe poſſeſſions during the remaining term of their charter, were rather diſpoſed to prevent litigations by a reaſonable compoſition, and prepared propoſals for an adjuſtment of the diſpute.

[n] 206 againſt 188.

When

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When this scheme was agreed to by the directors and presented to the ministry, their want of cordiality occasioned new embarrassments: after the proposals had been delivered to several members of administration in succession, they all declined taking any part in the negotiation out of the house; and a petition was presented to parliament, containing two sets of proposals for a temporary agreement during three years.

On the basis of one of these proposals, a bill was framed, binding the company to pay to government the sum of four hundred thousand pounds a year, by half yearly payments, and to indemnify the nation, should any loss be sustained in consequence of the imposition of certain inland duties, and the allowance of some drawbacks granted at their request. The term, instead of three, was limited to two years, to commence from the first of February 1767.

6th May. Dividends increased.

While this affair was in agitation, the company proposed, at a general court, an increase of dividend; justifying the measure by the state of their finances, as they would be enabled, before the month of February, to discharge all their debts, and pay the increased dividend[o]. The ministry wisely considering this as a dangerous delusion, calculated to renew the fatal effects of the South Sea Scheme, by letter to the directors, recommended the court not to augment the dividend till their proposals were fully discussed in parliament. The proprietors, however, slighted the admonition, and declared a dividend for the ensuing half year, at the rate of twelve and a half per cent.

Regulating and restraining bills.

In consequence of this proceeding, two bills were brought into parliament; one for regulating the qualifications of voters in trading companies; the other for restraining the making of dividends by the East India Company. The latter bill rescinded the recent resolution, and restrained them from making any dividend exceeding ten per cent.

[o] Short View of the Laws subsisting with respect to the East India Company, 1767, p. 9.

This

THIS meaſure occaſioned a ſpirited oppoſition: the company, alarmed at the incroachment on their ſuppoſed privileges, petitioned the houſe, and alſo propoſed, if the bill were laid aſide, to bind themſelves for the time of their agreement with government, not to extend their dividends beyond the limits indicated in the reſtraining bill. The petition and propoſal were equally diſregarded, and the bill was ſent up to the Lords, where it was no leſs ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. The whole ſtrength of the anti-miniſterial parties was combined, and on the third reading the minority divided forty-four againſt fifty-nine. A long, learned, and argumentative proteſt in ſixteen articles was entered on the journals, and ſigned by nineteen peers.

26th June. Proteſt.

THE contumacious conduct of the legiſlature of New York was deſervedly reprobated, and, in the Houſe of Commons, ſome rigorous coercive meaſures were propoſed, but, at length, it was thought ſufficient to frame a law, prohibiting the governor, council, and aſſembly of that province, from paſſing or aſſenting to any legiſlative act, for any purpoſe whatſoever, till the terms of the American mutiny act ſhould be complied with. This bill was oppoſed in a ſpeech of conſiderable length by Governor Pownall, whoſe arguments were ſupported by Alderman Beckford, but without effect.

Suſpenſion of the legiſlature of New York.

15th June.

ANOTHER meaſure reſpecting America was at leaſt impolitic, becauſe it tended to revive and give a new direction to thoſe diſputes which had compelled the legiſlature of Great Britain to repeal the ſtamp act, under circumſtances not honourable to the national dignity. This meaſure was the impoſition of certain duties on glaſs, paper, paſte-board, white and red lead, painter's colours, and tea, payable on the importation of thoſe articles into the American colonies, to be applied to the purpoſes ſpecified in the ſtamp act. The bill alſo contained a clauſe for diſcontinuing the drawback on the exportation of china-ware to America, and laid ſome reſtraints on the practice of ſmuggling. By another act, theſe and all other cuſtoms and duties,

New duties on exports to America.

CHAP. XIII. 1767.

payable in America, were put under the management of reſident commiſſioners. Theſe acts met with no oppoſition in either houſe; the right of Great Britain was looked upon as indubitable, and the expediency of the propoſitions was not conſidered liable to objection [p].

Commiſſioners eſtabliſhed.

THE principal remaining tranſactions of this protracted ſeſſion were, an addition to the ſtipend of half-pay lieutenants in the navy; the grant of an annuity of eight thouſand pounds to each of the King's brothers, the Dukes of York, Glouceſter, and Cumberland, and a marriage portion of forty thouſand pounds to the King's ſiſter, the Princeſs Carolina Matilda, who had eſpouſed the King of Denmark [q].

Attempts to form miniſterial arrangements.

BEFORE the prorogation of parliament, the miniſtry was conſidered on the eve of diſſolution. General Conway declared his reſolution to reſign, though he conſented to continue in office till a ſucceſſor was nominated. He aſſigned, as a reaſon, his impatient deſire to be again united with his friends, and reluctance in continuing to oppoſe them. Lord Northington announced a ſimilar determination, alleging his inability to attend public buſineſs, on account of ill health. In conſequence of theſe intimations, the King wrote to Lord Chatham, informing him of his deſign to make ſome alterations in the miniſtry, and requiring his advice and aſſiſtance. Lord Chatham returned a verbal anſwer, excuſing himſelf from interfering in any new arrangement, as his health was too much impaired for exertion.

July.

THE parties in oppoſition knowing theſe facts, entertained hopes of a ſpeedy and total change in the cabinet. The Duke of Newcaſtle, anxious to prevent the effect of ſeparate overtures to the bodies compoſing the oppoſition, was ſtrenuous in cementing the union between the Bedford and Rockingham parties.

[p] Almon's Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. p. 52.

[q] The parliament was not prorogued till the 2d July; the debates are not preſerved.

An

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An offer was ſpeedily made from the Duke of Grafton to the Marquis of Rockingham; but he declined entering into any negotiation without the advice of his friends. The leaders of oppoſition held a meeting, to prepare neceſſary arrangements; but they could not agree in ſome eſſential nominations; the conference terminated abruptly, and, though renewed on a ſubſequent day, as none would recede from their former opinions, the parties again ſeparated. The miniſtry therefore retained their ſituations. 1767. 20th July.

THIS inflexibility rendered it impoſſible for the King to employ either the Duke of Bedford or the Marquis of Rockingham, for they had refuſed to accept official ſituations ſeparately, and could not agree on ſuch terms as might enable them to act together. The miniſtry, finding that no conditions they could offer would enable them to acquire ſtrength by a junction with their opponents, were obliged to conduct the public buſineſs unaſſiſted.

Projects and death of Charles Townſhend.

LORD CHATHAM'S health was now deemed irrecoverable, and, in fact, the miniſtry were neither benefited by his advice nor ſupported by his popularity. They wanted a diſtinguiſhed leader, of talents, character, and reputation, who could give efficacy to their meaſures, and by force of ſuperior powers, enchain thoſe minor pretenders, who, in the abſence of ſuch a chief, diſdained ſubmiſſion, and embroiled the cabinet. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had before entertained ſimilar views, and now projected a new adminiſtration, of which he ſhould be the leader. His talents were amply ſufficient to juſtify the intention, and he could have united a body, more reſpectable, more competent, and more capable of cordial and beneficial co-operation than thoſe who were at the helm. Under him, the miniſtry would have aſſumed, at leaſt, a more decided character, and the public no longer would have felt that they retained their ſituations merely by the want of union in their adverſaries, and ſtood only by their own weakneſs. He obtained for his brother,

CHAP. XIII. 1767. 4th Sept.

Lord Townſhend, the vice-royalty of Ireland, deſignated Mr. Yorke, ſon of the late Lord Hardwicke, for chancellor, and probably had made other appointments, when his life was unexpectedly terminated by a putrid fever.

His character.

CHARLES TOWNSHEND, from whoſe ſplendid abilities government was expected to receive a new impulſe, and whoſe talents were employed in an attempt to reſcue the adminiſtration from the feebleneſs of fluctuating councils, was deſcended from Charles Viſcount Townſhend, the able and upright miniſter of the Houſe of Brunſwick. He paſſed through the ſchools with diſtinguiſhed reputation, and was celebrated for that pointed and finiſhed wit which rendered him the delight and ornament of parliament, and the charm of private ſociety. In his ſpeeches he brought together in a ſhort compaſs all that was neceſſary to eſtabliſh, to illuſtrate, and to decorate that ſide of the queſtion which he ſupported. He ſtated his matter ſkilfully and powerfully; his ſtyle of argument was neither trite and vulgar, nor ſubtle and abſtruſe. He excelled in a moſt luminous explanation and diſplay of his ſubject[r]. His defects aroſe from his lively talents and exquiſite penetration: he readily perceived and decried the errors of his co-adjutors, and from the verſatility of his political conduct acquired the nick-name of the weather-cock. He ſat in parliament twenty years, and ſucceſſively filled the places of lord of Trade, and of the Admiralty, ſecretary at war, paymaſter of the forces, and chancellor of the Exchequer, in which offices he executed buſineſs with ſuch accuracy and diſpatch, as demonſtrated that genius and induſtry are not incompatible. He was carried off in the meridian of life, at the age of forty-two, at a time when it might be hoped his lively talents were matured by experience, and the irregular ſallies of his verſatile temper, ſubjected to the reſtraints of judgment.

[r] Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 566.

THIS

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1767.

THIS event renewed the difficulty of effecting a miniſterial arrangement; the chancellorſhip of the Exchequer was filled *ad interim* by Lord Mansfield. It was offered to Lord North, who, for ſome reaſons which are not preciſely known, declined accepting it. The offer was ſubſequently made to Lord Barrington, who had diſcharged the duties of the ſame ſtation with diſtinguiſhed ability, under the adminiſtration of the Duke of Newcaſtle, during a period of no inconſiderable difficulty. Lord Barrington expreſſed great reluctance at being placed in a ſituation to which he thought Lord North's parliamentary talents more equal, but declared his readineſs to undertake the office from a ſenſe of duty to his King and country, if a renewed application to Lord North ſhould fail; a negotiation was attempted with the Duke of Bedford, but without effect, and at length Lord North was prevailed on to accept the office [s].

12th Sept.

1ſt Dec.

LORD NORTH, eldeſt ſon of Francis Earl of Guilford, was now in the thirty-ſixth year of his age: he commenced his education at Eton, and completed it at Oxford, with conſiderable reputation for his proficiency in claſſical literature. His elegant taſte as a ſcholar was eminent through a life fully occupied with the moſt momentous public concerns. On his travels he applied with much aſſiduity to the acquiſition of diplomatic knowledge, and ſtudied with great ſucceſs the Germanic conſtitution, under the celebrated Maſcove. He commenced his parliamentary career in 1754, and during Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, in 1759, obtained a ſeat at the Treaſury Board; he was removed by the Rockingham miniſtry in 1765, but, with Lord Chatham, came again into office, as joint paymaſter of the forces. His talents, erudition, and experience, eminently qualified him for the important ſituation he was now called upon to fill. His abilities for debate were univerſally acknowledged, and had been advantageouſly diſplayed in the motions againſt Wilkes, and in the diſcuſſions on India affairs.

Lord North Chancellor of the Exchequer. His character.

[s] From private information.

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1767. 5th Dec. Grafton adminiſtration. 30th Jan. 1768.

Mr. THOMAS TOWNSHEND ſucceeded Lord North as paymaſter, and Mr. Jenkinſon was appointed a lord of the Treaſury; Lord Northington and General Conway reſigning, Lord Gower was made preſident of the council, Lord Weymouth ſecretary of ſtate, and Lord Sandwich joint poſt-maſter-general. Theſe promotions indicated an accommodation between the miniſtry and the Bedford party, and the cabinet was further ſtrengthened by the appointment of Lord Hillſborough to the office of ſecretary of ſtate for America. The miniſtry, thus modelled, was called the Duke of Grafton's adminiſtration; for although Lord Chatham ſtill retained his place, he was incapable of tranſacting

February. March.

buſineſs; in conſequence of which, the privy ſeal was for a ſhort time put in commiſſion, though it was afterward reſtored to him.

24th. Nov. 1767.

THESE changes were effected during the ſitting of parliament, but as the King in his ſpeech from the throne, announced that they were called together merely to tranſact the urgent public buſineſs, that a diſſolution might take place at a time not inconvenient to the people, no affairs of importance were agitated. The King's ſpeech principally recommended to attention, the relief of the poor, who ſtill ſuffered from the high price of proviſions, and particularly of corn. Petitions on this ſubject were preſented from the city of London, and from Devizes, and an act was paſſed

Reſtraint on grain.

ſimilar to that of the preceding ſeſſion, prohibiting the export, and encouraging the importation of grain.

Reſtriction of dividends on Eaſt India ſtock. 15th Jan. 1768.

THE act of the laſt ſeſſion, reſtraining the Eaſt India Company from increaſing their dividend beyond ten per cent. being expired, was now renewed. The company ſtrenuouſly reſiſted this interference in their affairs, and preſented a petition againſt the bill. As a chartered body, they claimed exemption from ſuch authority; and, as Britiſh ſubjects, demanded relief from a reſtraint, which, if urged as a precedent, would affect all the public and private property in the kingdom. The bill, however, paſſed the Houſe of Commons

mons by a great majority, and the Houſe of Lords, notwithſtanding a vehement oppoſition, which produced a long proteſt, ſigned by eleven peers.

1767.

8th Feb. Proteſt.

In this ſeſſion, a motion was made by Sir George Savile, a conſpicuous member in oppoſition, to bring in a bill for quieting the poſſeſſions of the ſubject, and for amending, and rendering more effectual an act paſſed in the twenty-firſt year of James I. for the general quiet of the ſubject, againſt all pretences of concealment whatever. The intended law is commonly denominated the *Nullum Tempus* bill; the motion was rejected, after a violent debate by a majority of twenty only [s], and as the occaſion and nature of the motion excited a conſiderable ſhare of intereſt, a ſuccinct account is given of the tranſactions by which it was produced.

17th. Nullum Tempus bill.

Rejected.

The Portland family, in conſequence of a grant made by William III. to their illuſtrious anceſtor of the honour of Penrith, in the county of Cumberland, *with the appurtenances*, had been, about ſeventy years, in poſſeſſion of the foreſt of Ingle-wood, and the foccage of the caſtle of Carliſle, the value of which is ſtated at about thirty thouſand pounds, or one thouſand pounds a year. Sir James Lowther, conceiving theſe premiſes not to be included in the terms of the grant, preſented a memorial to the treaſury, praying a leaſe of His Majeſty's intereſt therein, for three lives, on ſuch terms as ſhould be thought proper. This memorial being referred to the ſurveyor general, he reported, that, in his opinion, the Duke's title did not extend to the ſubject in queſtion, and recommended that a leaſe ſhould be granted, as requeſted, at a reſerved rent of fifty pounds per annum for the foccage of Carliſle, and thirteen ſhillings and four-pence for the foreſt, and a third of the rent of ſuch lands and hereditaments in either place, as Sir James ſhould recover. This demiſe was ſuppoſed to be in conformity to the civil-liſt act.

Occaſion of the motion.

9th July 1767.

7th Aug.

[s] 134 againſt 114.

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1767.

THE Duke received no official notice of theſe proceedings, but when informed of the tranſaction, entered caveats in the proper offices, and requeſted the treaſury board to poſtpone the conſideration of the memorial, and grant him permiſſion to be heard by counſel.

2d Sept. 8th Oct. 9th.

10th Oct.

IN conſequence of this application, the ſecretary of the treaſury notified to his grace that his claim would be referred to the ſurveyor general, who would, at the ſame time, be inſtructed to reviſe the report on the memorial; and the Duke was aſſured no further proceedings ſhould be adopted till his title had been ſtated, referred to, and reported on by the proper officer, and fully and maturely examined by the treaſury board. The Duke's agents proceeded in their reſearches after documents to ſupport his title, and to invalidate the report of the ſurveyor general; for which purpoſe they deemed it neceſſary to obtain an inſpection of certain deeds or evidences in the ſurveyor's office; but this was peremptorily refuſed. His grace preſented a memorial to the treaſury, by which, in regard that all public records ought to be inſpected for the benefit of the parties intereſted, the lords of the treaſury were prayed to direct the ſurveyor general to permit the Duke's agents to inſpect, and take copies, if neceſſary, of all the ſurveyor's court-rolls, and other muniments and writings in his cuſtody, relative to the matters in queſtion.

20th Oct.

2d Dec.

THE Duke was informed that their lordſhips granted his requeſt, as to the inſpection of the ſurveyor's office, not on the foundation of right, but as a matter of candour and civility. The order for this purpoſe was not readily obtained, and when the ſurveyor general was informed of the permiſſion given by the treaſury, he ſtated to the board that the ſurveys and evidences in his cuſtody were not public records, but kept there for the King's uſe only, that permitting the King's deeds and evidences to be inſpected by agents of perſons who avowedly intended to conteſt the rights of the

the Crown, would be a bad precedent, and might be detrimental to His Majeſty's intereſt on future occaſions. He added, that in his judgment, the ſhorteſt way would be to try the right of the Crown, which Sir James Lowther was ready to do at his own expence, if the board would grant him the requeſted leaſe. In conſequence of this letter, the treaſury, notwithſtanding the caveats which had been entered, paſſed the grant to Sir James, and then apprized the Duke of its being done. CHAP. XIII. 1767. 22d Dec.

THIS leaſe being conſidered as an affair of party, all the vehemence of party was exerciſed in diſcuſſing it[t]. The Duke's friends contended that the grant made by William III. comprized, in its general terms, the premiſes now leaſed to Sir James Lowther, or, if not, that length of poſſeſſion ought, as in the caſe of private individuals, to be a bar againſt all queſtions of title. The unpopularity, tyranny, and danger of reſumptions by the Crown were ſtrongly urged, and the miniſtry were accuſed of attempting to revive that odious maxim, *nullum tempus occurrit regi.*

ON the other ſide, it was argued, that the general words in the grant did not convey any thing more than was exactly deſcribed, with its obvious and neceſſary appurtenances. That, even admitting King William's right to grant eſtates in fee ſimple to the prejudice of his ſucceſſors, ſtill ſuch grants ought to be read with great ſtrictneſs, and not in a matter ſo looſe as to permit an eſtate of a thouſand pounds a year to paſs in mere general terms. The length of poſſeſſion, it was ſaid, inſtead of being an argument in the Duke's favour, preſented an inſtance of the moderation of government, who were content merely to try a claim to a valuable eſtate, without entering into a queſtion reſpecting the arrears incurred by ſeventy years poſſeſſion, amounting at leaſt to ſeventy thouſand pounds.

[t] Much rancour was diſplayed in attributing the grant to the influence and exertions of the Earl of Bute, in favour of Sir James Lowther, who was his ſon-in-law.

THESE

CHAP. XIII. 1768.

THESE arguments do not appear ſatisfactory: it is obvious that there was a diſpoſition in the miniſtry to gratify Sir James Lowther at the expence of the Duke of Portland, and, in that view, the tranſaction was not honourable either to the miniſtry or to the perſon preferred. The length of poſſeſſion, if not a ſufficient bar to every claim, ought at leaſt to have procured for the poſſeſſor a refuſal of the leaſe on equitable terms; and, on the whole, it was unbecoming the dignity of government to enter into ſuch a conteſt with a ſubject. The property was not of ſufficient value to afford an excuſe for impelling the ſovereign to appear in his own courts as ſuitor againſt the deſcendant of a man whoſe zeal in eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, though liberally, was not ſuperabundantly rewarded.

THE repeated complaints of the Duke's friends that he was ill-treated, and trifled with by the officers of government, ſeem void of foundation. They did their duty with candour, temper, and propriety. Still leſs credit attaches to the aſſertion that the motive of paſſing the grant was to ſecure an influence at the enſuing general election: the eſtate was not of ſufficient importance to affect in any great degree, a county election, and as the grant was avowedly expedited for the mere purpoſe of preventing the claim from being argued in council, where it could not be legally decided, the transfer could not be attended with quiet poſſeſſion ſo as to give the ſuppoſed influence[u].

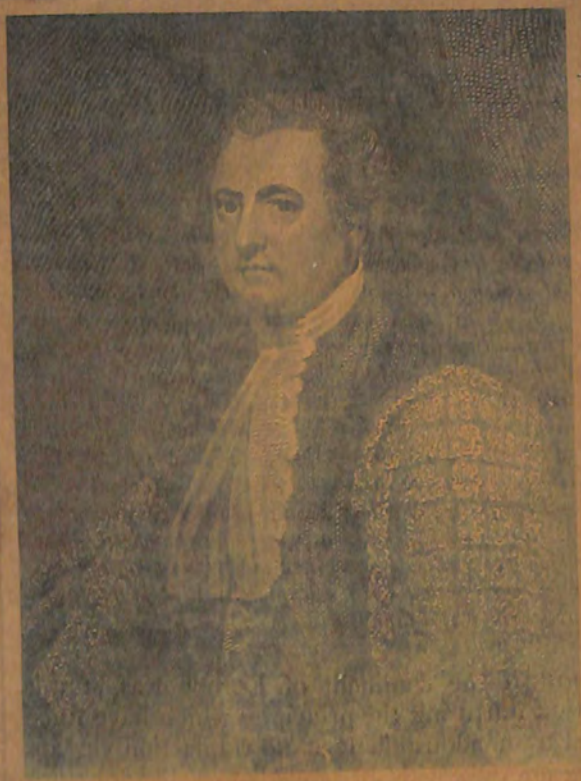
30th Mar. 1768. Prorogation.

AFTER paſſing the ſupplies, and ſome private bills, the King put an end to the ſeſſion. In his ſpeech he thanked the parliament for their ſignal proofs of affectionate attachment to his perſon, family, and government, faithful attention to the public ſervice, and earneſt zeal for the preſervation of our excellent conſtitution.

12th Mar. Diſſolution of parliament.

Two days afterward the parliament was diſſolved by proclamation.

[u] Theſe facts are taken from, "The Caſe of the Duke of Portland reſpecting "Two Leaſes lately granted to Sir James Lowther;" "A Reply to the Caſe of the "Duke of Portland," and "Obſervations on the Power of Alienation in the Crown."



CHAPTER THE FOURTEENTH:

1767—1768.

State of Europe.—Power of the Jeſuits.—Their expulſion from Spain and Naples—and final ſuppreſſion.—State of France.—Seizure of Avignon.—War in Corſica—the iſland ſubdued by the French.—War between the Turks and Ruſſians.—Affairs of America.—Exertions againſt the new taxes.—Diſputes between the governor and legiſlature of Maſſachuſet's Bay.—Proceedings of the aſſembly—their circular letter.—Libels on the governor.—Prorogation of the aſſembly—their inflexibility—and diſſolution.—Temper of the people.—Seizure of Hancock's ſloop.—Town meetings.—Convention.—Arrival of the troops.—Tranquillity of New York.—Affairs of Ireland.—Brief retroſpect.—The Lord Lieutenant obliged to reſign.—Lord Townſhend appointed.—Efforts of the people to alter the conſtitution of parliament.—An octennial bill is at length paſſed and receives the Royal ſanction.

CHAP. XIV. 1767. State of Europe.

ALTHOUGH the continent of Europe was at this period nurturing the principles which have ſince produced tremendous changes, no tranſaction yet appeared to interfere with the immediate welfare or tranquillity of Great Britain.

Power of the Jeſuits.

THE event which moſt immediately affected the intereſts of mankind was the fall of the Jeſuits. That body, by their learning, activity, intrigue, and federal union, had acquired unlimited authority in all Catholic countries; they regulated the conſciences of crowned heads; at their ſuggeſtions treaties were confirmed or broken, and war or peace prevailed. Their influence extended to all parts: as preceptors they had the advantage of diſcerning, and giving an inflexion to the tempers, paſſions, and habits of youth; of acquiring an unlimited aſcendancy over the mind; of enſlaving the

CHAP. XIV. 1767.

timid, reſtraining the proud, and bending even the energies of courage and virtue to their own peculiar views. Their orders, and many regulations of their ſociety, were an inſcrutable myſtery, but ſo ſpeedy was their intelligence, and ſo prompt their communication, that they ſeemed every where to be the firſt apprized of occurrences, and earlieſt and moſt abundantly benefited by them. Their activity and influence over the timid and ſuperſtitious threw enormous wealth into their hands, and their ambition was ſuppoſed equal to their power. From their firſt eſtabliſhment as an order, they were occaſionally regarded with ſuſpicion and inquietude, and already ſeveral principal powers in Europe had expelled them, as a body dangerous to government [a]. In ſome countries, intrigue, ſuperſtition, or fear had procured their re-admiſſion, but the preſent period was marked for their total expulſion and final ſuppreſſion. De Choiſeul, the French miniſter, conceived this great project, in which he was animated by political conſiderations, and by an attachment to the modern ſyſtems of free-thinking philoſophers. He procured in 1764 a ſuppreſſion of their order in France, although the members were ſtill permitted to continue their reſidence as individuals, conforming to the ſpiritual and civil ordinances of the realm.

Their expulſion from Spain.

In Spain and the tranſatlantic dominions of that country, their influence was moſt extenſive, and from the bigoted attachment of the Spaniards to the Catholic religion, and to the Jeſuits in particular, their eſtabliſhment was deemed perfectly ſecure, and their government as permanent and efficient as that of the King himſelf. Yet, in the midſt of this ſecurity, and without any previous indication of jealouſy or diſpleaſure, their total ruin was effected. This meaſure was planned by De Choiſeul, and conducted by means of the

[a] They were expelled from France in 1594, but re-eſtabliſhed in 1603; from England in 1604, from Venice in 1606, and from Portugal in 1759; under pretence of having inſtigated the families of Tavora and D'Aveiro to aſſaſſinate King Joſeph I.

Marquis

Marquis D'Oſſun, the French ambaſſador at Madrid, who concerted his meaſures with Charles III. King of Spain, and the Count D'Aranda his prime miniſter. CHAP. XIV. 1767.

THE execution of the deſign was ſudden and deciſive; at midnight large bodies of the military ſurrounded the ſix colleges of the Jeſuits in Madrid, forced the gates, ſecured the bells, and, placing a ſentry at the door of each cell, commanded the fathers to riſe, ſummoned them into the refectory, and read the King's order for inſtant tranſportation. The royal ſeal was put on all their effects, except a few neceſſaries which they were permitted to carry away. All the hired coaches and chaiſes in Madrid, together with ſeveral waggons, being engaged and diſtributed in proper places, their journey toward Carthagena immediately began. The inhabitants of the capital, in the morning, learned the intelligence with ſurprize and conſternation, but had not the power, if they had inclination, to interfere in preventing the execution of the King's command. 31ſt Mar.

THREE days afterward, the Jeſuit's college in Barcelona was ſurrounded, and the members tranſported with circumſtances exactly ſimilar. The ſame meaſures were adopted at the ſame hour in every part of the kingdom; ſhips were provided in the different ſea ports for carrying the Jeſuits to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and the moſt effectual means were adopted for preventing any communication with the King's foreign dominions. The royal ordinance for the expulſion of the Jeſuits was then publiſhed, by which all their property was confiſcated; a ſmall penſion was aſſigned to each individual, payable only while he reſided in a place appointed, and abſtained from offence in his writings and conduct, and the miſdemeanor of one was declared ſufficient to ſubject the whole body to a forfeiture of their ſtipends. The king's ſubjects were forbidden, under penalties of high treaſon, to correſpond with the Jeſuits; they were enjoined to obſerve ſtrict ſilence, and not to write, declaim, or make any movement for or againſt theſe meaſures. The ſame regulations extended 3d April.

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tended to the Indies, where a ſimilar ſeizure and expulſion took place, and an immenſe property was acquired by government.

All men were ſurprized at the ſecrecy and rigour of this tranſaction, and were therefore prepared to receive and credit the accounts which might be given of the motives of the Spaniſh court. Extenſive projects, and dangerous machinations were imputed to the Jeſuits, and all the dread and jealouſy which other nations entertained of their malignity and influence were exerted in finding the cauſes of their unexpected downfal. It was currently believed that they had fomented, and perhaps excited, a dangerous popular inſurrection, which the year before had agitated the capital, and compelled the King to diſmiſs his miniſters.

Ill treatment.

But whether the crimes or intentions imputed to the Jeſuits were founded on fact, or the mere ſuggeſtions of a party inimical, not only to their eſtabliſhment as a body, but to the Chriſtian religion in general, their ſufferings entitle them, as men to commiſeration. The horror of being ſuddenly torn from their homes, and all their ſocial connexions, was augmented by the terrors of an uncertain deſtination, and the anticipation of an unwelcome reception. Men who were, for the greater part, advanced in years, all of them uſed to the indulgences of an honourable ſituation, and to the eaſe of a ſedentary life, were now reduced to the allowance and treatment of ſoldiers in tranſports. When they arrived before Civita Vecchia, the Pope, Clement XIII. prohibited their landing in his dominions: they were therefore obliged to await freſh orders from Spain. A negotiation was opened with the republic of Genoa for permiſſion to land them in Corſica: before the treaty was concluded the Spaniſh admiral received orders to ſail for the port of Baſtia, but the

22d May

Corſican governor would not ſuffer them to diſembark. At length the ſanction of the Genoeſe government was obtained; the tranſports were ordered to the ports of Calvi, Algaiola, and Ajaccio, and the ſurviving Jeſuits, amounting

amounting to two thouſand three hundred, were put on ſhore.

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1767. 8th June. They are expelled from Naples; and the order ſuppreſſed.

THE example of the King of Spain was immediately followed by his ſon Ferdinand VI. King of Naples, and afterwards by Parma: and in 1773 the order was ſuppreſſed by Clement XIV. who was elevated to the papacy on that expreſs condition.

ALTHOUGH, by a reſolute exertion of the civil power, this formidable ſociety was thus reduced, there is great reaſon to doubt that the ſtrength of the European governments was augmented by their fall. If they were really guilty of dangerous and treaſonable deſigns, ſufficient means were not wanting, eſpecially in arbitrary monarchies, to puniſh the guilty and diſperſe their adherents. Even the whole order might have been reformed, their wealth diminiſhed, their power abridged, and their numbers reduced. But the deſtruction of a ſociety which included ſo much learning and ability, and reſpectable from connexions and able publications in literature and theology, diminiſhed the general credit of the eſtabliſhed religion, and gave new ſpirit to thoſe who already meditated the deſtruction both of Chriſtianity and monarchy.

State of France.

FRANCE was in a ſtate of the greateſt political and moral depravity. The King, immerſed in ſenſual enjoyment, neglected the affairs of government; the kingdom was ruled by his miſtreſſes and miniſters. The parliaments impeded the exertions of government by cavils and conteſts, in which the ſole aim was to acquire undue authority. The treaſury was empty, although injudicious taxes oppreſſed the people; and famine was felt in many parts of the country. Yet France was the centre of diſſipation and infidelity. Already a ſect of pretended philoſophers had obtained an extenſive influence; who, avowing war againſt popery, aimed at the ſubverſion of all religion, and the deſtruction of regal power [h]. The government was

[h] A Letter from Horatio Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, to General Conway, dated the 28th of October 1765, contains full, explicit, and undeniable evidence

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was insensible of the approaching danger; and Choiseul, intent on schemes of conquest, and augmentation of territory, wanted only a well replenished treasury to embroil all Europe [c]. But the finances were fatally deranged; the East India Company bankrupt, and the creditors of state anxious, dissatisfied, and alarmed.

Seizure of Avignon.

RESTRAINED from entering into extensive wars, the French took advantage of the still greater weakness of the Pope, and seized on his dominions in Avignon, and the Venaissin, without the slightest claim of right.

War in Corsica.

THE island of Corsica also offered temptation to their ambition. Oppressed by the Genoese, the people of that isle had long signalized themselves by an obstinate, and often well-conducted resistance. Under the government of Pascal Paoli, whom they elected general of the island in 1755, they made still more respectable exertions: their improvements in civilization bore some proportion to their increased energy in arms; and they became so formidable, that the Genoese, despairing of achieving a conquest, fought in 1761, to lure them into their pristine subjection, by a conciliatory manifesto. This also failed in its effect;

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dence on this subject: "The Dauphin," he says, "will probably hold out a few "days. His death, that is, the near prospect of it, fills the philosophers with the "greatest joy, as it was feared he would endeavour the restoration of the Jesuits. "You will think the sentiments of the philosophers very odd state news—but do "you know who the philosophers are, or what the term means here? In the first "place, it comprehends almost every body; and in the next, means *men, who "avowing war against popery, aim, many of them, at a subversion of all religion, "and still many more, at the destruction of regal power.* How do you know this? "you will say; you, who have been but six weeks in France, three of which you "have been confined to your chamber. True; but in the first period I went "every where, and heard nothing else; in the latter, I have been extremely "visited, and have had long and explicit conversations with many who think as "I tell you; and with a few of the other side, who are no less persuaded that "there are such intentions. In particular, I had two officers with me the other "night, neither of them young, whom I had difficulty to keep from a serious "quarrel; and who, in the heat of the dispute, informed me of much more "than I should have learnt with great pains."—See Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 122.

[c] Œuvres du Roi de Prusse, vol. iv. p. 181.

the Corſicans came to a reſolution never to make any agreement with the republic, until their liberties and independency were acknowledged and ſecured, and publiſhed a memorial to the nations of Europe, calling on them, by the rights of humanity, to interpoſe and give peace to a nation which had made ſuch conſpicuous exertions in the cauſe of freedom. This application procured them no aſſiſtance; and even the Britiſh miniſtry, at the peace, iſſued a proclamation forbidding the King's ſubjects from affording aſſiſtance to the Corſican rebels. This harſh appellation hurt the feelings of Paoli, who ſaid, "He did not expect that from Great Britain;" but the miniſtry acted wiſely in not interfering between another nation and its dependency.

THE Corſican general, without foreign aid, had nearly completed the emancipation of his country, when France, in 1764, concluded a treaty with Genoa, and ſent ſix battalions of troops to garriſon the fortified towns for four years, who being enjoined to act only on the defenſive, were not oppoſed, but kindly received by the iſlanders. The Comte de Marbœuf, their commander, behaved with mildneſs and moderation; he carefully preſerved the towns intruſted to his charge, but committed no injuries againſt the inhabitants: and Paoli, reſtrained from making active war, employed this interval in cultivating the arts of peace, and ſtrengthening himſelf for future conteſts[d].

UNFORTUNATELY, the Corſicans were not unanimous among themſelves. A party headed by two brothers named Abbattucci was in conſiderable force on one ſide of the iſland, and carried on open war againſt Paoli[e]. When the end of the four years approached, the French miniſter appeared deſirous to terminate the differences between the Genoeſe and the Corſicans. He drew up propoſitions, which were approved by Paoli, and contrived to preſerve the liberty

[d] Boſwell's Account of Corſica, chap. ii.

[e] Life of Dumouriez vol. i. chap. iii.

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of the Corſicans, without derogating from the dignity of the ſenate of Genoa.

1767. WHILE this negotiation was yet pending, the Spaniſh Jeſuits were, by the conſent of the Genoeſe, landed in Corſica. The French miniſter, anxious for the deſtruction of the order, appeared offended, and withdrew the troops from the ports into which the Jeſuits were admitted. Paoli, diſpoſed to derive advantage from the retreat of the French, immediately poſſeſſed himſelf of the places which they had evacuated; but the miniſter requeſted him to deſiſt from hoſtilities, and conſider thoſe places in a ſtate of neutrality, as if garriſoned by the French, till the expiration of the four years, when the troops ſhould be withdrawn from the iſland; and promiſed, if a peace was not at that time concluded, the Corſicans ſhould be at full liberty to aſſert their rights.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe explicit avowals of Corſican independence, the French government purchaſed the iſland from the republic of Genoa, although the natives claimed, and had an undubitable right, to be conſidered as independent, and had been acknowledged ſo by the power which now became the purchaſer.

THIS meaſure was expected to produce much oppoſition in Europe, but Choiſeul made ſuch arrangements as prevented hoſtilities. Great Britain and Sardinia were the principal powers who intereſted themſelves in the ſubject; but the repreſentations made to the cabinet of St. James's induced them to abſtain from oppoſing the transfer, and Sardinia was too feeble ſingly to oppoſe France[f].

THE Corſicans, when informed of the ſale, held a general meeting, and ſwore to defend their liberties to the utmoſt extremity; but this generous reſolution, though maintained with ſpirit, did not avail. They were defeated in many encounters, and after a gallant

[f] See Life of Dumouriez, 1. p. 109.

reſiſtance,

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reſiſtance, the whole iſland was over-run: Paoli, obliged to conſult his ſafety by flight, retreated to Piſa, and afterwards to London, where his neceſſities were relieved by a penſion[g].

1767. 22d Sept.

MEANWHILE war raged between Ruſſia and the Porte, but the events in no degree affected, for the preſent, the intereſts of England. Ruſſia began to diſplay unlimited power in Poland, and thoſe meaſures were arranged between the King of Pruſſia and the Empreſs, which led to the ſubſequent diſmemberment of the country[h].

1769. War between Ruſſia and the Porte.

1767.

IF theſe tranſactions appeared of ſmall importance to the welfare of Great Britain, the ſtate of her colonies became daily more and more embarraſſing and alarming. When the miniſtry brought into parliament the act for laying duties on certain articles of commerce exported to America, they could not foreſee objections to the right. The authority of the Britiſh parliament to impoſe what they deemed external taxes, was generally admitted[i], and if the inflamed ſtate of the public mind in America, and the triumphant confidence reſulting from the ſucceſsful oppoſition to the ſtamp act, rendered it impolitic, the legality was unqueſtioned. But the Americans were not diſpoſed to concede the minuteſt objection in favour of the mother country. The inclination to controverſy imbibed during the diſcuſſion of the former queſtion, and the ſyſtems then firſt promulgated, raiſed an inſuperable barrier to the reception of any new meaſure tending to benefit Great Britain at the expence of the coloniſts.

Affairs of America.

ON the firſt intelligence of the taxes impoſed by parliament, the American preſſes teemed with invective

Exertions againſt the new taxes.

[g] Life of Dumouriez, vol. i. chap. v. and vi. Deſcription of Corſica, &c. &c. by Frederick, ſon of the late Theodore, King of Corſica.

[h] Œuvres du Roi de Pruſſe, vol. iv. p. 167, et ſeq.

[i] Even Dr. Franklin admitted this principle in its fulleſt latitude, and ſeemed to make the eſtabliſhment of a diſtinction between the right of internal and external taxation, the ſtrongeſt point on which the Americans founded their claim of relief from the ſtamp act. See his examination, Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 328, 330, 334.

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againſt the ſyſtem, and the miniſtry by whom it was recommended. It was repreſented as originating in a pernicious and illegal reſolution to reduce the Americans to an abject ſtate of ſlavery and diſtreſs. Theſe writings, though not abounding in eloquence and wit, were not ſo deſpicable as to juſtify total negligence: they daily filled the pages of American newſpapers, while no writer was ſufficiently hardy, or ſufficiently intereſted to eſpouſe the contrary opinion.

In Maſſachuſet's Bay.

THE province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, took the lead in oppoſing the meaſures of government. The meeting of the firſt congreſs had done irreparable injury to the Britiſh dominion, by enabling the various provinces of America, to unite in opinion and conduct, by making the grievances of any ſingle province a common cauſe, and thus obliging the loyal or the timid to relinquiſh the dictates of their own judgment or diſpoſition, in favour of the rebellious and turbulent.

Diſputes between the legiſlature and the governor.

THE untameable republicans of Maſſachuſet's Bay ſoon engaged in ſuch a ſyſtem as impelled the other colonies to join them in open reſiſtance to the mother country. Sir Francis Bernard, their governor, was held in great diſlike, for his vigorous efforts to ſupport the orders of government; he was repreſented as exceeding the authorities with which he was inveſted, and treating the public, and the council and aſſembly, with inſupportable haughtineſs, and he irreparably offended the violent party, by refuſing to confirm the election of ſome perſons whom he deemed unfit to be members of the council. His refuſal was juſtified by the colonial charter, but the exerciſe of this privilege was peculiarly offenſive.

28th Oct. Non-importation agreements.

WHEN intelligence of the new tax laws was received, the people aſſembled at the town-hall in Boſton, and entered into aſſociations to encourage the manufactures of America, and deſiſt from the uſe and importation of Britiſh luxuries.

20th Dec. Proceedings of the general court.

GOVERNOR BERNARD found it neceſſary to convene the legiſlature earlier than he intended, but having

having received information from the ſpeaker of the aſſembly, that remonſtrances againſt the late acts were in contemplation, was prepared to expect a ſeſſion replete with turbulence and diſaffection. The firſt eighteen days were conſumed in drawing up theſe remonſtrances; and a long letter was written to Mr. de Berdt, the colonial agent in England, inſtructing him to controvert the obnoxious acts on every ground of right and policy. The legiſlature alſo prepared a petition to the King, in which they claimed, as rights of Britiſh ſubjects, an exemption from taxation, unleſs they were repreſented in parliament, which at the ſame time, they ſtated to be impoſſible. They alſo wrote to Lord Shelburne, the Marquis of Rockingham, General Conway, Lords Camden and Chatham, and to the lords of the Treaſury; all theſe letters, although varied, according to the circumſtances and ſituation of the parties to whom they were addreſſed, ſpoke but one ſentiment, diſſatisfaction at the late meaſures, and a determined ſpirit of reſiſtance.

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12th Jan. 1768.

20th.

ANOTHER proceeding of the aſſembly was ſtill more important in its conſequences. A circular letter was addreſſed to the ſpeakers of the houſes of aſſembly throughout the continent, complaining of all the late acts, inciting them to a ſtrenuous oppoſition, and inviting them to communicate ſuch advice as they ſhould think judicious. This letter, which was conceived in moderate and impreſſive terms, produced great effect; all jealouſy between the different legiſlatures immediately ſubſided; the candour evinced by an independent body, in requeſting the ſanction and advice of their fellows, quieted ſuſpicion, and made many of the aſſemblies firm adherents to their cauſe. Several of the ſpeakers[k], by direction of the bodies over which they preſided, united in opinion with the aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's Bay; and their ſentiments gained ground in all parts of the continent.

11th Feb. Their circular letter.

[k] Virginia, New Jerſey, Connecticut, Georgia, and Maryland.

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1768. Diſpute reſpecting Lord Shelburne's letter.

While theſe matters were under diſcuſſion, a topic of diſpute occurred between the aſſembly and the governor. In conſequence of Sir Francis Bernard's refuſal to confirm the nomination of members of the council, Lord Shelburne, Secretary of State, expreſſed high approbation of his conduct, with many reproaches againſt the ſpirit exhibited by the legiſlature. This letter the governor communicated to the aſſembly, but only permitted it to be read by the clerk, and would not ſuffer a copy to be entered on the journals. The houſe diſſatisfied with this proceeding, and anxious to obtain documents which might inflame the popular reſentment againſt Sir Francis, required a copy, and alſo his own letters to which it referred. The governor, in a laconic anſwer, declined compliance; but the aſſembly ſtill perſevering, ſtrenuouſly reiterated their demand; and this meſſage, which referred to and cited, from the memory of the writers, ſome paſſages of the ſecretary of ſtate's letter, was printed by permiſſion of the aſſembly in one of the newſpapers. It now became unneceſſary for the governor any longer to refuſe a communication of the original, it was therefore tranſmitted with a ſhort indignant meſſage, and entered on the journals. The aſſembly wrote to Lord Shelburne, animadverting on it with great aſperity, and treated the conduct of Sir Francis Bernard, which had been approved by the ſecretary of ſtate, as an abuſe, or at leaſt an unwarrantable exerciſe, of his legitimate authority.

13th Feb.

16th.

18th.

13d.

29th Feb. Libel on the governor.

The efforts uſed to render the governor's ſituation inſupportable, were not confined to the houſe of aſſembly. A virulent incendiary letter was publiſhed in the Boſton Gazette, upbraiding him in the coarſeſt terms with his conduct toward the colony, and particularly with his ſuppoſed letters to Lord Shelburne, by which the ſecretary of ſtate had been influenced to cenſure the legiſlature. This flagrant and atrocious inſult appeared to endanger the ſafety of government, and called for the immediate interpoſition of the legiſlative

giſlative body. Sir Francis communicated the libel, and required advice. The council returned a loyal and dutiful addreſs, reprobating the publication and its author, and declaring their readineſs to concur in any meaſures which the majeſty of the King, and the dignity of his government, the honour of the council, and the true intereſt of the province, ſhould require. The aſſembly diſplayed a contrary diſpoſition: they alleged that as no particular perſon, public or private, was *named* in the publication, it did not affect the majeſty of the King, the dignity of the government, the honour of the general court, or the true intereſts of the province; and thought themſelves fully juſtified in taking no further notice of it[1].

3d March.

The next day, the governor in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, reprobated their conduct on many points from the beginning of the ſeſſion, particularly their animadverſions on Lord Shelburne's letter, and permitting their proceedings to be publiſhed in newſpapers; he vindicated his own character and conduct, and having expreſſed a determination to perſevere in the ſame courſe, prorogued the court till the thirteenth of April.

4th March. Prorogation of the aſſembly.

The conduct of the aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's Bay, in ſending a circular letter to the other provinces, was highly reſented by the miniſtry. They juſtly conſidered it as evidently tending to create unwarrantable combinations, to excite an unjuſtifiable oppoſition to the conſtitutional authority of parliament, and to revive thoſe unhappy diviſions and diſtractions which had operated ſo prejudicially to the true intereſts of Great Britain, and the colonies. Lord Hillſborough, Secretary of State for America, wrote to the governor, expreſſing theſe ſentiments, and requiring that the reſolutions which gave riſe to the obnoxious letter ſhould be reſcinded. To afford the aſſembly an

Inſtructions from the ſecretary of State to the governor.

22d April.

[1] The public agreed in this opinion, for when the libel was afterward preſented to the grand jury, they refuſed to find the bill. The libeller, encouraged by impunity, renewed his attack with increaſed acrimony.

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opportunity of complying without injury to their feelings, the ſecretary of ſtate conſidered the meaſure as obtained by ſurprize, and contrary to the real ſenſe of the majority; but in concluſion, Sir Francis Bernard was directed, if they declined reſcinding the reſolutions, to diſſolve the aſſembly, and ſend an account of their proceedings to be laid before parliament.

21ſt June. Proceedings on the ſubject. 23d. 24th.

SIR FRANCIS tranſmitted a copy of this letter to the aſſembly, omitting the latter part, to obviate the imputation of uſing threats. The members, however, demanded a more complete communication, and the governor, in complying with their requeſt, informed them of his determination, if they diſobeyed the King's commands, to fulfil his inſtructions.

28th June.

The aſſembly not returning an anſwer to this declaration, he ſent a meſſage deſiring they would come to ſome reſolution on His Majeſty's requiſition, and intimated that he ſhould conſider a much longer delay as amounting to a negative.

29th.

The aſſembly attempted to evade this demand, by requeſting an adjournment to conſult with their conſtituents,

30th. Inflexibility.

but the governor not acceding to the propoſal, they at length ſent a long meſſage, in which they defended their former reſolutions, and refuſed to recede or apologize. A letter of great length, and to the ſame purport, was written to Lord Hillſborough; and to prove that the former meaſure was not obtained by ſurprize, nor contrary to the ſenſe of the houſe, the numbers were taken on the diviſion by which the queſtion for reſcinding the reſolutions was rejected, and were found to be ninety-two to ſeventeen. In purſuance of his inſtructions, the governor diſſolved the aſſembly[m].

1ſt July. And diſſolution of the aſſembly.

THIS ferment in the legiſlature greatly affected the tranquillity of the people. Thoſe who were before

[m] The account of theſe proceedings is taken from Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. p. 54 to 62; Andrews's Hiſtory of the War, vol.

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before diſpoſed to exhibit a licentious diſpoſition, now ſecure of impunity and ſupport, laid no reſtraint on their conduct. The act for eſtabliſhing a board of cuſtoms was liable to no objection in argument, but as it ſubjected the ſmuggling trade to inſurmountable difficulties, was felt and reſented with great acrimony. The board paſſed ſeveral wiſe and effectual regulations for accompliſhing the ends of their inſtitution, and were therefore regarded with peculiar malignity; and while the aſſembly was yet ſitting, this ſpirit was diſplayed in a manner which threatened to involve the whole province in rebellion. A ſloop belonging to John Hancock, one of the principal merchants, arrived in Boſton harbour laden with wine, and a tide-waiter was put on board to prevent the cargo from being landed until entered at the cuſtom-houſe, and a permit obtained. The maſter of the veſſel, having in vain tampered with the officer, forcibly looked him up in the cabin, landed the wine, and took in oil from the ſhore. Information of this violence being given at the cuſtom-houſe, the collector ſeized the ſloop, and placed it under protection of the Romney ſhip of war, then in the harbour. The mob on ſhore aſſailed the collector and comptroller of the cuſtoms, beat and pelted them with ſtones; threatened the commiſſioners, whom they obliged to ſeek refuge on board the Romney; and, ſeizing the collector's boat, carried it in triumph, and burned it before Mr. Hancock's door. The commiſſioners applied for protection to the governor, who referred them to the legiſlature, but that body would give neither advice nor aſſiſtance, and the commiſſioners, being ſtill alarmed by threats, were obliged to ſecure them-

Temper of the people.

9th June. Seizure of Hancock's ſloop.

vol. i. 80, et ſeq.; Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i.; The True Sentiments of America, in a Collection of Letters, &c. including papers relating to a ſuppoſed libel on the governor of Maſſachuſet's Bay; Letters and Memorials to Lord Hillſborough from Governor Bernard and General Gage, two collections, 1769; The American Gazetto, 1768; and the periodical publications.

ſelves

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selves in a fortress called Castle William, situate on an island, at the mouth of the harbour.

13th June. Town-meeting.

A TOWN-MEETING was next called, but the inhabitants of Boston participating in Mr. Hancock's interest, presented a remonstrance to the governor against the seizure of the sloop, and requested him to order the Romney to quit the harbour. The legislature beheld the proceedings with indifference, and took no measures for assisting the governor, or protecting the officers.

Troops ordered.

IN consequence of these transactions, and of the representations made not only by the governor, but the commissioners of the customs, to the ministry, troops were ordered to Boston in aid of the civil power. A rumour of these orders having reached the inhabitants, they were filled with consternation and alarm: a town-meeting was held, and a petition presented to the governor, requesting him to call an assembly; he answered; "It was not in his power, "as he had dissolved the late assembly by the King's "command, to convene a new one without instruc-"tions; and the affair was under examination." This answer increased the resentment of the people, and afforded ample scope to the exertions of the factious: it was proposed to summon a convention; and to give efficacy to this new and bold resolution, they adjourned to the next day.

22d Sept. Second town-meeting.

13th. A convention resolved on.

AT this meeting the most inflammatory language was held, and four persons were nominated to represent Boston in the intended convention; one of whom was Mr. Hancock, the owner of the sloop. The select men of Boston were directed to write to the select men of other towns in the province, inviting them to a convention on the 22d of the same month. But the most flagrant measure was a requisition to the inhabitants to provide themselves with arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, in case of sudden danger. This order was founded on an obsolete law of the province: the motive assigned was

the rumour of an intended war with France. They terminated the meeting in a manner characteriſtic of the ſpirit of their anceſtors, by requiring the miniſters of the town to ſet apart an early day for faſting and prayer. CHAP. XIV. 1768.

In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, a circular letter was written to all the towns in the province, in language perfectly correſpondent with the temper and diſpoſition of thoſe who regulated the Boſton meeting. All the towns, ninety-ſix in number, appointed committees to attend the convention, except Hatfield, to which ſpot it appeared all the loyalty and moderation of the province were confined. The inhabitants unanimouſly refuſed to ſend repreſentatives to the convention, and proteſted againſt it as illegal. In a long and ſenſible letter to the ſelect men, they denied the facts alleged as motives for the intended proceeding, and declared their loyalty to the King, and fidelity to their country; but expreſſed, at the ſame time, their firm reſolution to maintain and defend their rights in every prudent and reaſonable way, as far as was conſiſtent with their duty to God and the King. Prudence of the inhabitants of Hatfield.

The convention on their meeting, ſent a petition to the governor, diſclaiming every intention of performing authoritative or governmental acts: they were choſen, they ſaid, by the different towns and diſtricts, and met in that dark and diſtreſſing time to conſult and adviſe meaſures for promoting the peace and good order of His Majeſty's ſubjects in that province. They repeated their complaints of grievances, and prayed that he would relieve them by calling a general aſſembly. When the three members, appointed to convey this petition, waited on Sir Francis Bernard, he declined receiving any meſſage from the aſſembly, called a committee of convention, as that would be admitting its legality: he would not even ſign the paper on which he wrote this refuſal; but 22d Sept. Proceedings of the convention.

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but it was authenticated by thoſe who received it from his hand. The next day a letter from the governor was read in the convention, in which, proceeding on a ſuppoſition that they might have aſſembled by the advice of ſome perſon ignorant of the criminality of his act, he admoniſhed them to ſeparate without tranſacting buſineſs, that they might not incur the penalties due to their diſobedience. The convention ſent another meſſage by five gentlemen, which the governor, having ſufficiently explained himſelf, and pointed out their danger, refuſed to receive. The members of the convention, diſconcerted by this firmneſs, merely appointed a committee of nine perſons to conſider and report the moſt effectual method, conſiſtent with the expreſs deſign of their convening, to promote the peace and good order of His Majeſty's ſubjects. The committee having made their report, the convention drew up a petition to the King, and a letter encloſing it, to their agent in London, and then diſſolved.

23d Sept.

24th.

29th. Arrival of the troops.

THE troops arrived in Boſton on the day which concluded the ſittings of the convention; ſome difficulties reſpecting their lodging were obviated by hiring houſes, to which the denomination of barracks was aſſigned, to prevent the eſtabliſhment of a precedent for lodging ſoldiers in private habitations. The preſence of the military, for a time, reſtrained the inhabitants within the bounds of order; the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms reſumed their functions, and buſineſs followed its accuſtomed courſe.

Tranquillity of New York.

NEW YORK, effectually intimidated by the ſuſpenſion of their legiſlature, ſubmitted to the terms impoſed by the mutiny act, and the aſſembly was again allowed to ſit. Tranquillity was reſtored, and confidence would, probably, have followed, but for the aſſociations formed throughout the continent in conſequence of the circular letter written by the aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's Bay. Theſe aſſociations kept alive the

the flame of diſcord, and prepared for further exertions detrimental to the welfare of Great Britain[n].

1768.

In 1767, a material alteration was effected in the conſtitution of Ireland, by the octennial act.

Affairs of Ireland.

During the viceroyalty of the Earl of Northumberland[o], the lord primate and Lord Shannon died[p]. Before this event, Lord Shannon's heir and ſucceſſor had married the daughter of Mr. Ponſonby, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. Fortified by this connexion, they imagined themſelves ſufficiently powerful to ſurmount every other party, and to awe the government. Their efforts, during the adminiſtration of Lord Haliſax, were productive of little effect, as the firmneſs and addreſs of the Lord Lieutenant were ſuperior to all machinations.

19th and 18th Dec. 1764.

In 1764, new attempts were made to give to the Houſe of Commons the right of originating money bills. Mr. Pery made a motion for expunging from the journals the note to the lord deputy, dated the twenty-ninth of November 1614, by which the full operation of Poyning's Law was recognized; and ſucceeded in obtaining a vote to that effect. The ſpeaker, who had permitted this reſolution to paſs, being convinced, after a conference at the caſtle, of its impropriety, procured by his exertions the annulling of the whole proceeding; and the entry was declared an error of the clerk.

During the adminiſtration of Lord Weymouth and the Earl of Hertford[q], no material tranſactions took place; the patriots had ſo often repeated their complaints on the enormity of the penſion liſt, that they no longer excited curioſity, or obtained attention. Reſolutions were entered on the journals ſtating facts reſpecting penſions; but no meaſures were

[n] Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. p. 63 to 68. Andrews's Hiſtory of the American War, p. 81 to 91.

[o] See chap. viii.

[p] In December 1763.

[q] The Earl of Briſtol was appointed Lord Lieutenant in 1766, but did not go to Ireland.

adopted

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adopted to ſhow that they made any ſtrong impreſſion even on the movers.

1766. Lord lieutenant obliged to reſide.

THE increaſing powers of the parliamentary undertakers, at length, induced government to alter the ſyſtem with reſpect to Ireland. It was reſolved no longer to abandon that kingdom to the government of the lords juſtices, but to make reſidence the duty of the lord lieutenant; a determination which gave great ſatisfaction to the people, and proportionate alarm to thoſe whoſe unpopular authority it was intended to abridge.

Efforts to alter the conſtitution of parliament.

ONE of the principal meaſures from which the people expected their emancipation from the authority of the undertakers, was an alteration in the conſtitution of parliament. The parliament of Ireland was, at this time, diſſolved only by the death of the King, or by the exerciſe of his prerogative. A change by which the conſtitution ſhould be made more nearly to reſemble that of Great Britain, had occaſioned many public meetings, and ſtrenuous recommendations to the legiſlature. The undertakers, though fully ſenſible of the diminution of their importance which muſt enſue, durſt not venture an open oppoſition, but relied on the effects of intrigue and management to prevent, while they appeared to favour, the ſucceſs of the meaſure.

DURING the preſent reign, continual efforts were made to obtain a ſeptennial law: in the year 1761, the Houſe of Commons agreed to the heads of a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments, which was tranſmitted to England, but not approved. Even at that time great jealouſy was excited, and the people were led to believe that their repreſentatives ſent the bill to England in the hope of its being altered, which would afford a pretence for rejecting it, without offending their conſtituents. To acquit themſelves of this imputation, the Iriſh Houſe of Commons entered

27th April, 1762.

a reſo-

a reſolution on their journals, expreſsly declaring the report to be void of foundation. CHAP. XIV.

In November 1765, the ſheriff and commons of Dublin drew up a petition for a change in the ſyſtem of repreſentation; the lord mayor and aldermen refuſing to concur in the meaſure, the ſheriff and commons paſſed a reſolution expreſſing diſapprobation, and voted inſtructions to their repreſentatives to uſe their utmoſt endeavours for limiting the duration of parliaments. Nov. 1765.

In February 1766 a bill for that purpoſe again paſſed in Ireland, but was rejected by the Britiſh cabinet. The news of this event exaſperated the people of Dublin, and the ſheriff, and upward of ſix hundred merchants and traders preſented an addreſs to their repreſentatives, in which, after complaining, in acrimonious terms, of the rejection of the bill, they directed their members never to aſſent to any money bill of longer duration than ſix months, till a law ſhould paſs for a ſeptennial limitation of parliament. Feb. 1766. May 1766.

When Lord Chatham's adminiſtration was formed, Lord Camden declared himſelf the advocate of a change in the repreſentation of Ireland, but inſtead of a ſeptennial, an octennial bill was recommended. Charles Townſhend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, entered into the ſame views, and therefore obtained the lord lieutenancy of Ireland for his brother. July 1766.

Lord Townshend accepted the appointment, fully approving the new ſyſtem, and determined to maintain the royal authority againſt all oppoſition. He was received with great demonſtrations of joy and reſpect by the magiſtracy of Dublin, and in three days after his arrival, the lord mayor, ſheriff and commons, came to a reſolution, that to obtain a law for limiting the duration of parliament, under proper qualifications, would be of the higheſt advantage to the kingdom in general, and to the city of Dublin in particular, and that it would be adviſable for the city to adopt all conſtitutional meaſures for procuring ſuch a law. 11th Oct. 1767. 14th.

A BILL

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A BILL to that effect ſpeedily paſſed the Iriſh parliament; and, being ſent to England, obtained the ſanction of the crown. It was received by the people of Ireland, particularly the lower claſs of voters, with unbounded joy, and the lord lieutenant was highly popular from the ſhare he had taken in facilitating ſo deſirable a meaſure[s].

[s] Many of the above ſtatements are derived from the periodical publications, the reſt from private information.

CHAPTER THE FIFTEENTH:

1768—1769.

Retroſpect of the tranſactions of the reign.— Conduct and diſpoſition of the King. — His patronage of the fine arts. — Parliamentary cenſure on the magiſtrates of Oxford. — Wilkes's return to England. — He is elected Member for Middleſex. — Meeting of Parliament. — Proceedings againſt Wilkes. — He is committed to the King's Bench priſon — reſcued by the mob — ſurrenders. — Daily riots. — The ſoldiers fire on the people. — Increaſing violence of the populace. — Sentence of the court of King's Bench on Wilkes. — Proſecution of Mr. Gillam, the magiſtrate, by whoſe authority the military acted. — Reſignation of Lord Chatham. — Serjeant Glynn elected for Middleſex. — Meeting of Parliament. — Wilkes's petition. — Various motions. — He is brought before the houſe of commons. — His complaints declared frivolous. — His letter to Lord Weymouth — who complains of a breach of privilege. Wilkes expelled. — His character. — His cauſe eſpouſed by the freeholders of Middleſex. — He is re-elected — declared incapable of ſitting. — Strenuouſly ſupported by the freeholders. — Meeting of merchants on the oppoſite ſide. — They are inſulted. Their progreſs to St. James's. — Wilkes again elected. — The election declared void. — Colonel Luttrell oppoſes him. — Wilkes returned. — The return altered. — Petitions of the freeholders. — Proceedings in parliament relative to America. — Debates on the conduct of the legiſlature of Maſſachuſet's Bay. — Debate on reviving an obſolete ſtatute of Henry VIII. — Debate on the right of taxing. — Reſpecting Corſica. — Nullum Tempus act. — Arrears of the civil liſt diſcharged. — Agreement with the Eaſt India Company. — Prorogation.

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Retroſpect of the tranſactions of the reign.

AT the diſſolution of the firſt parliament called by George III. the aſpect of affairs preſented no conſolatory views to his mind. The King, from the beginning of his reign, had manifeſtly ſought the advantage and honour of his people; yet ſuch were the effects of a conſtant and acrimonious oppoſition,

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ſition, that not only the prudence of his meaſures, but the purity of his intentions, was doubted. At his acceſſion, he found a large portion of his ſubjects, conſpicuous both for property and talent, excluded from all ſhare in the government, and, by an affected ſtigma, rendered incapable of enjoying confidence, or rendering ſervice to the crown. He relieved them from this proſcription, and ſought, by aboliſhing party and national diſtinctions, to reign king and protector of all his people. This meaſure, ſo wiſe and juſt in itſelf, was productive of endleſs feuds and jealouſies. Every introduction of a new ſervant or family occaſioned diſſatisfaction and diſguſt: the diſappointed formed new parties, avowed new principles, and ſought by every device to diſtreſs and impede the operations of government. Thus ſo many ſucceſſive miniſtries, who aſſumed the direction of public affairs, were all feeble and inefficient, while no ſingle oppoſition was in itſelf ſtrong or reſpectable. Every leader of a party commanded his ſhare of influence, which joined to that reſulting from miniſterial ſituation, was ſufficient to procure a majority. But the parliament itſelf, delivered to ſo many oppoſite leaders, making laws in one ſeſſion, repealing them in the next, affirming a principle at one period, and retracting it at another, loſt much of the reſpect and confidence which ought to flow from the people to their repreſentatives.

THE King's benevolence was conſpicuous in every act which he performed or ſanctioned. He found the country at war: it was the firſt wiſh of his heart to reſtore the bleſſings of peace. In purſuit of this object he made no ſacrifice of the national honour, but raiſed the glories of the country by a campaign of matchleſs vigour and ſucceſs. From this circumſtance reſulted much of the obloquy thrown on the peace: the proſperous progreſs of the Britiſh arms inſpired exaggerated hopes, and many who affected to deplore the miſeries of war, decried the peace

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because it was not founded on principles which would have furnished an unanswerable motive for future aggression.

Private character of the King.

AGAINST the private life of the King calumny itself could not discover an objection. Vice of every kind was not only unpractised, but discountenanced at court; and it was not possible to survey without an accumulated sense of respect and admiration, the first personage in the realm, the most conspicuous in the performance of every social law, and the most happy in the interesting centre of a domestic circle [a].

His patronage of the arts.

THE King was a patron and liberal encourager of the polite arts, and anxious to give them a permanent establishment in Great Britain. At an early period of the reign, Lord Bute asserted, from his own knowledge, that rewards would never be wanting, provided proper subjects occurred worthy of the royal protection [b]; and the institution of the Royal Academy displayed at once the King's judgment, spirit, and patriotism [c].

Uneasiness in consequence of opposition.

NOTWITHSTANDING, however, his blameless life, and constant exertions to deserve the affection of his subjects, the King was not happy. The unceasing efforts of opposition in every part of his dominions, and the success which attended those insidious and baleful endeavours, deprived him of a great portion of tranquillity. His firmness, fortunately, prevented him from relinquishing a mode of conduct which his judgment led him to adopt; but although he was enabled to break the established phalanx, which,

[a] It may be proper here to mention the state of the royal family at this period. Beside the Prince of Wales, whose birth is already mentioned, the King was parent of Frederick Bishop of Osnaburg, since Duke of York, born 16th August 1763; William Henry, now Duke of Clarence, born August 22d, 1765; Charlotte Augusta Matilda, now Duchess of Wirtemberg, born 29th September 1766; Prince Edward, now Duke of Kent, born 2d November 1767; and the Princess Augusta Sophia, born 8th November 1768.

[b] Letter from Lord Bute to Lord Melcombe, 28th May 1761. In this letter was enclosed a sum of 200l. for a worthy literary character in distress.

[c] See Appendix.

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while it ſupported, obſcured the throne, the ſtruggle was attended with many painful circumſtances.

1768. Deaths and ſeparations in the royal family. 17th Sept. 1767. 13th May 1768.

EVEN in his own family, thoſe feelings which proved the ſource of his enjoyments, gave alſo a poignancy to his grief. The death of his brother the Duke of York, a brave and meritorious youth, and of his ſiſter the Princeſs Louiſa Anne, occaſioned great affliction; and although the marriage of the Princeſs Carolina Matilda to the King of Denmark, while it ſtrengthened the Proteſtant intereſt, promiſed to increaſe the King's happineſs, yet the ſplendid feſtivals which pervaded the capital could not aſſuage the pain of ſeparation from ſuch a beloved relative.

Efforts previous to the general election.

As it was certain that parliament would be diſſolved at the end of the ſeſſion, great efforts were made to obtain influence at the approaching general election. No art of corruption was left untried: advertiſements appeared in the public prints, offering premiums for ſeats in the legiſlature; and the magiſtrates of the city of Oxford even demanded from their repreſentatives, Sir Thomas Stapleton and the Honourable Mr. Lee, a ſum of money as the price of their re-election. This demand being made during the ſeſſion, the members very properly preferred their complaint to the houſe. The magiſtrates were taken into cuſtody: but as, by their petition, it appeared they were not actuated by ſelfiſh motives, their only view being to obtain money for the reimburſement of ſome expences ſuſtained by the corporation, they received only a reprimand from the Speaker on their knees, and were diſcharged [d].

9th Feb. 1768.

Wilkes returns to England.

ALL England was agitated by the tumults incident to a general election, but particularly London and Middleſex, on account of the re-appearance of John Wilkes: he quitted England under circumſtances ſo diſgraceful, that his offer to repreſent the metropolis,

[d] Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 511.

or

or the county which includes the metropolis, was an incalculable effort of impudence, while the ſupport he received ſeems to have flowed from an unprecedented ſource of popular deluſion. CHAP. XV. 1768.

WHEN Mr. Wilkes found it neceſſary to leave his native country he repaired to France; on his arrival, he aſſerted that he was deputed ambaſſador to Conſtantinople, but he ſoon relinquiſhed that pretence, and profeſſed an inclination to reconcile himſelf with the miniſtry, and return to England[e]. The appointment of the Rockingham adminiſtration flattering him with hopes of ſucceſs, he repaired to London in May 1766, and opened a negotiation with the friends of the Marquis; but as he could not obtain protection from them, nor place his outlawry in a train of reverſal till November, he again went to France. In the courſe of that ſummer Lord Chatham's adminiſtration was formed, and Mr. Wilkes conceiving new hopes, ſolicited, in earneſt and abject terms, the Duke of Grafton's interference with the King[f]. This application being rejected, Mr. Wilkes, neglected and forgotten, remained an exile, till the approaching diſſolution of parliament drew him to England. Retroſpect of his conduct.

IN his retirement he reflected with anger on his repeated mortifications, and his ſpirit was inflamed to that degree of virulence which made him brave every danger, and defy every appearance of decency, in declaring himſelf a candidate to repreſent the city of London. In his addreſs to the livery, he claimed credit for his attachment to liberty, and preſented his conteſts with government on the two queſtions reſpecting general warrants, and the ſeizure of papers, as titles to protection and encouragement. As the outlawry was ſtill in full force, to prevent his being apprehended he wrote to the ſolicitor and deputy ſolicitor He is candidate for London. 10th Mar. 22d.

[e] Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 121.

[f] See the letter dated 1ſt November 1766, A. R. vol. ix. p. 182, and a ſubſequent letter to the Duke of Grafton, dated 12th December 1766, publiſhed by Almon.

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of the treaſury, pledging his honour as a gentleman, that he would perſonally appear in the court of King's Bench on the firſt day of the enſuing term [a].

But rejected.

Mr. Wilkes was not choſen for London; but the populace, ſympathizing in his diſappointment, and anxious to ſhow their zeal in his cauſe, took the horſes from his carriage, and drew it through the city.

28th Mar. Is returned for Middleſex.

He immediately preſented himſelf a candidate for the county of Middleſex, and was returned by a large majority [b]. His friends, the populace, on this occaſion teſtified not only their joy, but their reſentment, by breaking the windows of Lord Bute's houſe, and of the manſion houſe; the air reſounded with the cry of 'Wilkes and Liberty,' and thoſe who refuſed to join in it were beat and inſulted.

10th May. Meeting of parliament.

THE new parliament met according to the return of the writs of ſummons, and Sir John Cuſt was again choſen ſpeaker. The only buſineſs tranſacted was a continuation of the ſtatutes reſpecting grain; and a motion that the proper crown officer might report to the houſe why the laws were not immediately put in force againſt John Wilkes, an outlaw, when he returned to England in February.

Proceedings againſt Wilkes. 12th April.

Mr. WILKES was at this period already in cuſtody. He appeared in the court of King's Bench according to his promiſe, and in a long ſpeech complained of all the tranſactions in his caſe, but left the diſcuſſion of points of law to his counſel. The attorney-general moved for his commitment; cauſe was ſhown againſt it, and a writ of error prayed. The judges cenſured both motions, as Mr. Wilkes was not properly before the court, and refuſed to commit, or admit him to bail. A writ of *capias utlagatum* was at length iſſued, and as no precedent could be found of a perſon in his

He is committed.

[a] It was alſo ſaid that he addreſſed a ſenſible and humble petition to the King, imploring pardon; but this fact is not ſufficiently authenticated. See Gentleman's Magazine, 1768, p. 140.

[b] The numbers were, Wilkes 1292, Cooke 827, Sir William B. Proctor, 807.

circum-

circumſtances being delivered to bail, he was ordered into cuſtody. The populace, however, reverſed the decree of the court; they ſtopped the coach in which he was proceeding, took off the horſes, and dragged him through the city to a public houſe in Spitalfields, where they kept him till eleven at night, when he made his eſcape, and ſurrendered himſelf to the marſhal of the King's Bench. The next day a mob aſſembled near the priſon, pulled up the rails which incloſed the foot-way, and made a bonfire. At night they compelled the inhabitants of the Borough to illuminate; but at midnight were diſperſed by a detachment from the guards.

1768. 27th. Reſcued by the mob. Surrenders himſelf, Riots.

From this period, a tumultuous meeting was daily held at the King's Bench priſon, and many outrages were committed in various parts of the town. Theſe proceedings alarmed government, and they were properly on their guard againſt the prevalence of the riotous diſpoſition ſo forcibly diſplayed.

Daily repeated.

On the day of the opening of parliament, an immenſe multitude aſſembled in St. George's Fields, expecting that, by virtue of his privilege, their favourite would be liberated, and take his ſeat in the houſe. They demanded him at the priſon with loud outcries, and ſoon grew extremely tumultuous. The juſtices, attempting to read the riot act, were aſſailed with ſtones and bricks; great pains were taken to induce the people to diſperſe, but in vain: the drums beat to arms, and the military aſſembled in great numbers, but the rabble perſevered in their riotous behaviour, and even aſſaulted them. Some ſoldiers purſued a man who had been forward in maltreating them to ſome diſtance, and ſhot him dead in an out-houſe belonging to his father. The youth's name was Allen, and it was alledged, that he was a mere ſpectator of the tranſactions of the day, and had, by miſtake, been ſingled out inſtead of ſome other perſon. Meanwhile, the riot increaſing, and every effort to reſtore tranquillity proving ineffectual, the ſoldiers received

10th May. Dangerous tumult near the King's Bench priſon. A youth killed. The ſoldiers fire on the people.

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the word of command, and fired; five or six perſons were killed, and fifteen wounded.

Rage againſt the military.

THE mob was diſperſed, but inexpreſſible rage prevailed againſt the ſoldiery. The regiment happened, unfortunately, to be principally compoſed of Scotchmen, which gave additional violence to the popular reſentment. The coroner's inqueſt brought in a verdict of wilful murder againſt the ſoldier who ſhot Allen, and implicated another private, and Alexander Murray Eſquire, the commanding officer, as acceſſaries. The principal, Donald Maclane, was conveyed to priſon, and the populace were with difficulty reſtrained from tearing him to pieces. The King, with great propriety, protected and ſanctioned the proceedings which gave a timely check to this daring ſpirit of licentiouſneſs, and returned thanks to the commanding officer for his prudence and reſolution.

11th May.

Increaſing violence of the people.

NOTHING could exceed the frenzy of indignation which prevailed in the public mind; riots of the moſt dangerous nature were daily excited. Harley, the Lord Mayor, being already obnoxious to Wilkes's party, for his conduct while ſheriff, in burning the North Briton, the manſion houſe was frequently aſſailed by mobs, and at length it was found requiſite that a guard ſhould be conſtantly ſtationed there[1]. A moſt audacious and treaſonable paper was ſtuck on the walls of St. James's palace, and another of ſimilar purport found on the back ſtairs. All was terror, confuſion, and alarm, and under the maſk of patriotiſm, treaſon was actively employed; combinations were formed by workmen, coal-heavers, watermen, and labourers in the metropolis, and in different parts of the country; the civil arm ſeemed too weak to reſtrain the general ſpirit of licentiouſneſs, which, actuated by

[1] Three perſons were tried at the Old Bailey in July, for being engaged in thoſe violences, breaking the limbs, and aſſaulting the Lord Mayor; two of them were found guilty, and ſentenced to twelve months impriſonment in Newgate.

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a designing leader, or stimulated by a real cause of complaint, would have produced a total dissolution of social order. CHAP. XV. 1768.

MR. WILKES's case was argued in the court of King's Bench, and the outlawry against him reversed; but the verdict was affirmed, and he was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years, computed from the time of his arrest, to pay two fines of five hundred pounds, and find two sureties, in five hundred pounds each, for his good behaviour for seven years. 8th June. Sentence of the court of King's Bench on Wilkes.

THE spirit of revenge against all who appeared to support government in the late proceedings was carried to the greatest excess. Mr. Gillam, the magistrate who authorized the guards to fire and disperse the mob, was indicted for murder. On his trial, the attorney and solicitor general appeared as his counsel, but no exertion on their part was necessary; the jury acquitted him on the evidence for the prosecution. A bill was also presented to the grand jury of the county of Surrey against Maclane the soldier, and two other persons implicated in the coroner's verdict: after a deliberation of thirteen hours, they found a true bill against Maclane only, who was tried and acquitted. Prosecution of Mr. Gillam. 7th July. 11th. 8th Aug. And of two soldiers. 9th.

LORD CHATHAM saw with dissatisfaction many of the late ministerial proceedings; he was displeased with their conduct respecting America; indignant at the tranquillity with which his colleagues suffered the French to possess themselves of Corsica, and in many other respects discontented; he also felt great repugnance at seeing his name connected with men and measures so generally unpopular, and determined to resign. He would not even attend at court to announce his resolution, but sent the privy-seal by Lord Camden. This event was not unexpected. Lord Bristol was appointed in his stead; and as Lord Camden still continued chancellor, no material alterations took place [k]. Resignation of Lord Chatham. 15th Oct. 2d Nov.

[k] Life of Lord Chatham, vol. ii. p. 84.

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1768. Serjeant Glynn elected for Middleſex. 5th June.

8th Dec.

14th Jan. 1769.

8th Nov. 1768. Meeting of parliament.

Wilkes's petition. 14th Nov.

Proceedings thereon.

THE tumultuous diſpoſition of the electors of Middleſex might probably have ſubſided had not a new conteſt renewed the fermentation. Mr. Cooke, Mr. Wilkes's colleague, died; Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, the unſucceſsful candidate at the late election, again offered himſelf; and was oppoſed by Serjeant Glynn, who being the conſtant legal defender of Wilkes, was highly popular, and Sir William loſt the election. During its progreſs, a man was killed in a riot, begun by ſome chairmen employed by Sir William's party; and as he was underſtood to be a candidate on the court intereſt, this event excited the greateſt indignation: two chairmen were apprehended, tried at the Old Bailey, and found guilty. The populace, animated with the deſire of vengeance, when the verdict was pronounced, teſtified their joy by ſhouting and clapping of hands; but their fury was not gratified in the expected victims; for, after being reſpited for a ſhort time, they obtained a pardon [1].

IN his ſpeech to parliament, on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, the King mentioned with ſatisfaction the pacific diſpoſition of the continental powers, adverted to the rebellious ſpirit which prevailed in Maſſachuſet's Bay, and recommended harmony and union. The addreſs was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, but carried.

MR. WILKES'S affair early engaged the Houſe of Commons: a petition was brought up by Sir Joſeph Mawbey, in which all the proceedings againſt him ſince the year 1763 were briefly recited, and the juſtice of the houſe was claimed in redreſſing his grievances; ſundry motions enſued; the proper officers were directed to lay before the houſe a copy of the proceedings in the court of King's Bench; and a day being appointed for taking theſe matters into conſideration, it was ordered that due notice ſhould be given to Mr. Wilkes, and to ſeveral other parties, who might appear as witneſſes. Among them was Mr. Webb, late ſecre-

[1] They were afterwards proſecuted with unceaſing reſentment for other murders committed on the ſame day, but acquitted.

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tary to the treaſury, who being in the petition accuſed of highly improper conduct, requeſted an opportunity of vindicating himſelf, and was allowed to be heard either in perſon or by counſel.

BEFORE the petition was diſcuſſed, a motion, made for the purpoſe of aſcertaining whether a member convicted of publiſhing a libel was entitled to privilege, was debated with much acrimony, and at length decided in the negative. At the time appointed for conſidering his petition, Mr. Wilkes, being brought before the houſe in cuſtody, objected that, by an act of parliament, he could not legally appear there without taking the oaths; but this objection was overruled. On a ſubſequent day, he took exception to the word blaſphemous, uſed in deſcribing the Eſſay on Woman; which, after a long debate was expunged. The evidence in ſupport of the petition ſubſtantiated only the undenied fact, that Lord Mansfield had altered the record of his indictment the day before the trial. It was clearly demonſtrated that the practice of altering records in the manner complained of was ancient, and ſupported by numberleſs precedents from the beginning of the law books to that period; and on a ſolemn argument of the ſame objection in Weſtminſter Hall, the practice had been confirmed by all the judges. The petition accuſed Mr. Webb of bribing, with the public money, one Curry, Wilkes's domeſtic, to ſteal the Eſſay on Woman; but this charge was not proved. A vote of ſevere cenſure was moved, but afterwards modified into a declaration, that the aſperſions in the petition were frivolous.

23d Jan. 1769. Motion reſpecting privilege.

27th. Wilkes brought before the Houſe of Commons.

31ſt.

1ſt Feb. His complaints declared frivolous.

ANOTHER complaint againſt Mr. Wilkes was immediately preſented. Lord Weymouth, the ſecretary of ſtate, having in the preceding year, written to the magiſtrates of Surrey, recommending them no longer to permit tumults to aſſume ſo dangerous an aſpect, but to make early application for a military force in aid of the civil power; the letter came into Wilkes's poſſeſſion, and he publiſhed it, with an inflammatory and inſulting

Wilkes's letter to Lord Weymouth;

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who complains of a breach of privilege.

2d.

insulting comment, denominating the affair in St. George's Fields a horrid maſſacre, and the conſequence of a helliſh project, deliberately planned. Lord Weymouth complained to the Houſe of Lords of a breach of privilege; and the printer of the newſpaper acknowledging that he received the letter from Mr. Wilkes, a conference of the Lords and Commons was held. Mr. Wilkes, at the bar of the lower houſe, triumphantly avowed the publication, and claimed the thanks of the country for having expoſed, in a proper light, "that bloody ſcroll."

3d. Wilkes expelled.

THE houſe being thus in full poſſeſſion of the neceſſary evidence, a motion for his expulſion [m] was made, and after a ſtrenuous debate, carried by a conſiderable majority [n].

Obſervations.

IN all the proceedings againſt Mr. Wilkes, from the moment of his return to England, the miniſtry diſplayed great want of judgment and prudence, but in this meaſure, their errors were peculiarly manifeſt. On his arrival, in the month of February, his outlawry was in full force; had they then iſſued againſt him the proper proceſs, he would have been legally in cuſtody during the period of the election, and thus prevented from influencing, perſonally at leaſt, the public proceedings at that criſis. Such a meaſure could not apparently have created a diviſion in the cabinet, ſince even Lord Chatham was attacked in the letter to the Duke of Grafton with no leſs virulence than the Duke himſelf. But if they were reſolved not to add to the weight of Mr. Wilkes's misfortunes by enforcing his puniſhment, and content to incur the riſque ariſing from his popular oppoſition to their meaſures, the moſt pru-

[m] The motion was in theſe words: "That John Wilkes, Eſq. a member of this Houſe, who hath, at the bar of this Houſe, confeſſed himſelf "to be the author and publiſher of what this Houſe has reſolved to be "an inſolent, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, and who has been convicted "in the court of King's Bench of having printed and publiſhed a ſeditious "libel, and three obſcene and impious libels, and by the judgment of the "ſaid court has been ſentenced to undergo twenty-two months impriſonment, and is now in execution under the ſame judgment, be expelled "this houſe."

[n] 219 to 136.

dent proceeding would have been to adviſe the King to comply with, or even anticipate, Mr. Wilkes's petition by a free pardon. He could then no longer pretend that he was a martyr in the cauſe of liberty, nor would the exceſſes of the populace have been ſanctioned by any plauſible allegation of grievance. By taking Mr. Wilkes into cuſtody after his election, and when his popularity was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, they placed the King in direct oppoſition to a great portion of his ſubjects, and expoſed the nation to all the miſchiefs and ferments ariſing from ſuch a conteſt. In arguing the merits of his petition the miniſtry were guilty of a great error: it claimed no particular notice, made no ſpecific demand, and might, with great propriety, have been left to lie on the table. In expelling him the houſe, their conduct was unjuſtifiable; it might be legal, but a miniſtry, in a free country, can never ſupport themſelves by an appeal to the letter of the law; they muſt alſo do what is expedient, and even gracious to the people. In this inſtance they manifeſted no leſs feebleneſs than rancour. As if afraid that they were not fully juſtified in expelling him in conſequence of a complaint from the other houſe, the motion was loaded with extraneous facts; reciting an offence for which he was expelled by a former parliament, and others for which he was then ſuffering the ſentence of the law; and even alleging that ſentence and thoſe ſufferings againſt him as new crimes.

Character of Wilkes.

THROUGH the medium of Mr. Wilkes ſome important popular queſtions were diſcuſſed, and it was fortunate for the country that ſuch an individual was found. The points aſcertained by his means are of the higheſt conſequence both to liberty and government; and Mr. Wilkes was, in every reſpect, the moſt proper man to act the part aſſigned to him. Too enterprizing to be deſpiſed, too frivolous to excite permanent apprehenſion, he was ever ready to engage in ſuch acts as required the interference of the law, and

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and always ſufficiently ſubtle to make his errors popular, and his vices venial. Too magnanimous to be actuated by terror, and too venal to reſiſt proffered advantages, he was a fit champion for the people, till his views were anſwered, but ſo open to gratification as never to be permanently dangerous. His avowed vices precluded him from the eſteem of the virtuous; and thus his popularity, however apparently extenſive, could never give alarm to a ſtrong and well-combined miniſtry. It would have been wiſe to let him take his ſeat without reſiſtance, for as his oratorical talents were not above mediocrity, he would ſoon have ſunk into diſregard, and his writings, ceaſing to claim attention as the effuſions of an injured patriot, would have been rated at their juſt value, and fallen rapidly into obſcurity.

14th Feb. His cauſe eſpouſed by the freeholders of Middleſex.

His intereſts were warmly and eagerly eſpouſed: at a meeting of the freeholders at Mile-end, his re-election was recommended. Alderman Sawbridge enforced it by obſerving, that if once the miniſtry ſhould be permitted to ſay whom the freeholders ſhould not chooſe, the next ſtep would be to tell them whom they ſhould chooſe; he was accordingly re-elected almoſt without oppoſition *.

16th. He is re-elected.

The reſolution thus diſplayed by the people to ſupport their favourite might have taught the miniſtry the inutility of further reſiſtance, and induced them to ſubmit with a good grace; but, they now appeared to conſider the credit and authority of government at ſtake, and to have reſolved that the queſtion ſhould be proſecuted to all extremities. On the day ſucceeding Mr. Wilkes's return, Lord Strange moved, "That having been expelled, he was incapable of ſerving in that parliament." In ſupport of this doctrine, it was alleged, that Robert Walpole having been expelled the houſe, and re-choſen for Lynn, the Commons declared his incapacity. The members in oppoſition

17th. Declared incapable of ſitting in parliament.

* Serjeant Whitaker was propoſed as a candidate, but was ſupported only by five freeholders.

made

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made many diſtinctions between Walpole's caſe and Mr. Wilkes's. Walpole was, at the time of his re-election, actually in the Tower for the crimes which occaſioned his expulſion, a rival candidate appeared, ſo that the terms of the precept could be complied with; and the matter was taken up in the houſe, not on the mere return of the writ, but on the petition of his opponent. Should the dangerous precedent, that a member once expelled is incapable of re-election to the ſame parliament, be eſtabliſhed, it might be carried to an indefinite extent. "There is one *worſt* man in the houſe;" Mr. Dowdeſwell humorouſly obſerved, "turn him out. Is there not now a *worſt* man left, turn him out too. In ſhort when will you ſtop? You have turned one out for impiety and obſcenity;—when half a dozen members meet over a convivial bottle, is their diſcourſe entirely free from obſcenity, impiety, and abuſe of government? Even in the cabinet, that pious, reforming ſociety; were Mr. Wilkes there to be judged, and the innocent man to throw the firſt ſtone, they would ſlink out one by one, and leave the culprit uncondemned." In more ſerious argument it was ſtated, that a man might be expelled for a libel, but on trial in a court of law, be found innocent; what muſt be the conſequence? Is that perſon never to be re-elected? or what amends could he receive for his expulſion? But, ſay the miniſtry, parliament will never expel a member but for a juſt cauſe. When a miniſtry is inveſted with the powers of judges, woe to us oppoſers.—The queſtion was carried in the affirmative by a large majority [o].

Wilkes ſtrenuouſly ſupported.

In conſequence of this meaſure the popularity of Mr. Wilkes increaſed, and he was conſidered the object of a vindictive proſecution [p]. Another meeting

[o] 225 againſt 89.

[p] A ſubſcription was opened for his benefit at the London Tavern. (20th February,) which ſupplied a ſufficient fund to pay his fines, and to leave an ample reſidue for his future ſupport.

at

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at Mile-end reſolved again to ſupport him, and the moſt enthuſiaſtic ſentiments were expreſſed in his favour.

1769. 22d Feb. Meeting of merchants. 8th Mar.

ALL attempts to oppoſe the prevailing ſpirit were ineffectual. A meeting was called at the King's Arms tavern, in London, for the purpoſe of preſenting a loyal addreſs to the King; but the adherents of Wilkes were ſo numerous and formidable, that thoſe who invited the meeting were obliged to leave the room to the other party, who by their ſpeeches and reſolutions totally perverted and turned to ridicule the original intent of the aſſembly. Thoſe who convened it, however, prepared an addreſs, which they left at a public office over the Royal Exchange for ſignatures. In their progreſs to preſent this paper at St. James's, they were aſſailed with violence and inſult: a hearſe preceded them, with paintings repreſenting the death of Allen, and the murder at Brentford; the coaches were ſtopped, and thoſe in them were beaten, pelted with mud, and many obliged either to deſiſt from their intention, or proceed to St. James's by private ways. The hearſe ſtill preceding the few who remained, attempted to paſs into the court yard, but was reſiſted by the guard; the mob perſevered in their outrages, even within the walls of the palace; two were ſecured by the intrepidity of Lord Talbot, and fifteen by the military [q]. The whole ſpectacle muſt have been truly mortifying and diſtreſſing to the King, as it evinced the dangers to which his ſubjects were expoſed in preſuming to diſplay ſentiments of loyalty and affection [r].

They are inſulted by Wilkes's party.

2nd Mar. Their progreſs to St. James's.

16th. Wilkes again elected.

A SECOND election took place at Brentford, and Mr. Dingley, the principal promoter of the meeting

[q] It is a remarkable fact, and ſhows how general was the extent of factious ſpirit at this period, that the grand jury of Middleſex refuſed to find bills of indictment againſt theſe men.

[r] No expreſs authorities are cited for theſe facts; they form the contents of all the diurnal regiſters in the periodical publications, to which reference may be made by the dates in the margin: particularly the Annual Regiſter, and Gentleman's Magazine.

of

of merchants at the King's Arms tavern, appeared for the purpose of opposing Mr. Wilkes, but he was so ill-treated by the mob, that by the advice of his friends he retired before the nomination, and the popular candidate was declared duly elected for want of opposition, although Mr. Dingley, in a letter to the sheriffs, protested against the proceedings of the day. 17th. The House of Commons, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, again declared the election null and void. The election declared void.

A NEW writ being issued, Colonel Luttrell, son of Lord Irnham, vacated his seat, and declared himself a candidate for Middlesex. This conduct was considered so rash and dangerous, that policies of assurance on his life were opened at Lloyd's Coffee house[s]. Mr. Wilkes's friends adopted their usual measure of calling a meeting at Mile-end, and entered into strenuous resolutions to support his cause. The House of Commons, apprehensive of riots, ordered the sheriffs to take the necessary measures for preserving the peace, by appointing an additional number of constables. Colonel Luttrell opposes Wilkes. 20th Mar. 7th April

THE election was conducted with the utmost order, although a violent and outrageous mob occupied the roads to Brentford in every direction, and compelled all passengers to shout "Wilkes and Liberty," and to permit his badge, Number 45, to be chalked on their clothes, and carriages. The numbers on the poll producing a majority for Mr. Wilkes of eight hundred and forty-seven[t], the sheriff returned him duly elected. A motion, however, was made in the House, and after being debated with great vehemence, and no small ability, for two days, an alteration of the return was ordered by a majority of fifty-four[u]. The freeholders of Middlesex presented a petition against this alteration, and were heard by counsel, but the house 13th April. Election. Wilkes returned. The return altered. 14th and 15th. 29th. Petition of the freeholders. 8th May.

[s] History of the Boroughs, &c. vol. ii. p. 233.
[t] Wilkes 1143, Luttrel 296.
[u] 197 to 143.

 confirmed

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confirmed its previous reſolution by a ſtill greater majority [x].

1769. Proceedings in parliament relative to America. Dec. 1768.

THE recent tranſactions in America produced great debates, and ſtrong meaſures. The buſineſs was forcibly adverted to in the King's ſpeech, and afterward introduced to the Houſe by a motion for an addreſs, that all letters-patent, charters, and commiſſions, ſubſiſting and in force relative to the American colonies, with copies of all orders and inſtructions given to any officers civil or military, in regard to their government, ſhould be laid before Parliament. This motion was negatived, as was another, on the ſame day, for copies of all letters and affidavits received ſince the firſt of January 1766.

15th and 20th Jan. Petitions.

AFTER the receſs, a committee of the whole houſe was formed, to whoſe inſpection a large quantity of papers was ſubmitted. A petition was tendered from Maſſachuſet's Bay, and one from an individual named William Bollan: the former was received, under the expreſs ſtipulation that it ſhould be conſidered merely as the act of individuals, and not of a body, ſince the council had loſt their collective character by diſſolution: the other petition was rejected.

Reſolutions.

THE Houſe then, in a committee, entered into a general diſcuſſion of the American tranſactions. The lords had already voted certain reſolutions, reciting hiſtorically the acts both of the people and legiſlature of Maſſachuſet's Bay; and an addreſs to the King, praying that he would direct the governor of that colony to tranſmit the names of the perſons moſt conſpicuous in commencing illegal acts, ſince the 31ſt of December 1767, to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate; and would, if the information received appeared to afford ſufficient ground for ſuch a proceeding, iſſue a ſpecial commiſſion for trying the offenders in Great Britain, according to the proviſions of the ſtatute 35th Henry VIII.

[x] 221 to 152.

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Debates on the conduct of the legiſlature of Maſſachuſet's Bay.

An animated debate enſued on the queſtion, whether the committee ſhould concur in the reſolutions and addreſs. Both the right and expediency of taxing the colonies were ably argued; and the particular acts of the legiſlature of Maſſachuſet's Bay, during the laſt year, were ſtrongly arraigned and defended. Governor Pownall, who fully underſtood the affairs of America, and had been intruſted with the chief command in Maſſachuſet's Bay, defended the proceedings of the coloniſts, and denied that the riots on the ſeizure of Hancock's ſloop could have been prevented by the council and aſſembly[y]. With reſpect to the calling of a convention, he admitted that if the ſelect men of Boſton had iſſued writs[z], it would have been an uſurpation, if not treaſonable: but that, by the laws of their country, confirmed by the crown, they were authoriſed to write letters deſiring other towns to appoint committees to convene with their committee. He maintained, that although a convention of ſtates would have been treaſonable, a convention of committees was warranted by law, and their proceedings highly commendable. The conduct of Governor Bernard was, on the other hand, warmly defended; and after a long debate, which was carried on with great earneſtneſs on both ſides, the reſolutions and addreſs were agreed to.

8th Feb.

In another diſcuſſion, when the report of the committee was preſented to the Houſe, Governor Pownall again diſtinguiſhed himſelf in oppoſition to the reſolutions and addreſs: he entered at great length into the conſtitutions and charters of the different provinces of America, and contended againſt the right of internal taxation: he dwelt with great force on the impolicy of urging the Americans to acts of reſiſtance; depicted, with truth and preciſion, the ſpirit which ani-

[y] Admitting this to be true, which is not exactly ſo, they could have afforded protection to the cuſtom-houſe officers, or have taken meaſures for effectually puniſhing the inſurgents; neither of which was done.

[z] This expreſſion was found in the reſolutions when firſt ſent down from the lords, but the words, "writing letters," were ſubſtituted on a motion for an amendment.

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mated the inhabitants of Maſſachuſet's Bay, and warned the miniſtry againſt giving a ſpring to their fanaticiſm, and urging them to quit their native characters of huſbandmen and merchants, to diſplay their energy in acts of reſiſtance, "that ſpirit," he ſaid, "which led their anceſtors to break off from every thing which is near and dear to the human heart; from every connexion which friendſhip, relation, blood could give; which led them to quit every comfort that a ſettled and civilized country (their own native country) could afford, and to encounter every difficulty and diſtreſs which a wild wilderneſs of ſavages could oppoſe to them, to ſtruggle even for their exiſtence; that ſpirit, equally ſtrong, and equally inflamed, has but a ſlight and trifling ſacrifice to make at this time; they have not to quit their native country, but to defend it: they have not to forſake their friends and relations, but to unite with and to ſtand by them in one common union. The only ſacrifice they have to make is that of a few follies, and a few luxuries. Neceſſity is not the ground of their commerce with you, it is merely the affectation of your modes and cuſtoms; the love for home, as they call England, that makes them like every thing which comes from thence: but paſſion may be conquered by paſſion, they will abominate as ſincerely as they now love you; and if they do, they have within themſelves every thing requiſite to the food, raiment, or dwelling of mankind, and have no need of your commerce." He then deſcribed the reſources of the Americans, and the facility with which they could obtain all neceſſaries without applying to England. In concluſion, the governor gave this ſane and prudent advice: "Do nothing which may bring into diſcuſſion queſtions of right, which muſt become mere articles of faith. Go into no innovations in practice, and ſuffer no encroachments on government. Extend not the power which you have of impoſing taxes, to the laying internal taxes, on the colonies. Continue to exerciſe the power, which you have already exerciſed,

ciſed, of laying ſubſidies, impoſts and duties, but exerciſe this as you have hitherto done, with prudence and moderation, and directed by the ſpirit of commercial wiſdom. This ſpirit and mode of government will cement again that union which is ſhattered, if not quite broken; reſtore that ſpirit of obedience, which the loſs of authority on the one hand, and of affection on the other, has interrupted; and will re-eſtabliſh the authority as well as force of civil government, which has almoſt loſt its force by loſing its authority. Exert the ſpirit of policy that you may not ruin the colonies and yourſelves by exertions of force."

Reſolutions carried.

THE reſolutions and addreſs were carried, but amendments being made, were ſent back to the lords for their aſſent. This gave riſe to a motion to recommit the addreſs; and the propoſal to revive the obſolete ſtatute of Henry VIII. came more particularly under diſcuſſion. The intention was reprobated with great ability by Captain Phipps [a], who proved that the ſtatute was not, as deſcribed, a tyrannical act; but, on the contrary, one of the leaſt exceptionable acts of a tyrannical reign. It was made before the exiſtence of the American colonies, and was intended to ſecure to the King's tranſ-marine ſubjects at Boulogne, and other places, that benefit of which, if revived, it would deprive the Americans, namely, the trial by jury. He proved that an American, brought to England for trial could have none of the advantages which the law intends to ſecure to every one; he could not, with effect, challenge jurors whoſe characters and connexions were unknown to him; he could not avail himſelf of the aſſiſtance of counſel, to whoſe abilities and fame he might be a ſtranger; and no proceſs could iſſue to enforce an appearance of witneſſes from the other ſide of the Atlantic. "But, ſhould the culprit, with all theſe diſadvantages, eſcape," ſaid Captain Phipps, "and indeed I do not ſee how it can hap-

Debates on reviving an obſolete ſtatute.

[a] Afterward Lord Mulgrave.

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pen otherwiſe, for the act of the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII. is for treaſons committed out of the realm, and the twenty-fifth of Edward III. makes levying war within the realm treaſon; ſo that whether America is in or out of the realm, it cannot be within the letter of both theſe acts; and I hope there is no latent, obſolete ſtatute, teeming with conſtructive treaſon, to be brought forth againſt theſe men:—ſhould they, I ſay, after all be acquitted, what reparation can be made to an ingenuous mind for ſo foul an imputation as diſloyalty? What reparation can be made to men dragged from the endearments of domeſtic life, brought from the land of liberty, flowing with milk and honey, to drink at the bitter fountain of oppreſſion? Will they return leſs poſſeſſed of the confidence of their fellow-ſubjects, and leſs inclined to abuſe it? Will they return leſs convinced of the inconveniences of a dependent ſtate, or leſs ſolicitous to ſhake off the yoke, from this new outrage?"

MR. GREY COOPER aſſured the Houſe that no intention was entertained of putting the act in execution, but the addreſs was moved merely to ſhow the Americans what government could do on an emergency. The motion for a re-commitment was loſt by a great majority [b].

14th Mar. Debate on the right of taxing.

THE Houſe was again engaged on American affairs, in conſequence of a repreſentation from New York, denying the right of parliament to tax them. Lord North oppoſed the reception of this paper; which induced Colonel Barre to obſerve, that he had predicted on paſſing the ſtamp act, what would happen, and feared he could now propheſy further troubles; if the people were made deſperate, finding no remedy from parliament, the whole continent would riſe in arms, and perhaps thoſe provinces be loſt to England for ever. Some remarks were made on the unproductiveneſs American taxes, and the enormous ex-

[b] 161 to 65.

pence

pence attending the collection. Mr. Grenville ſaid, there was no medium; we muſt either reſolve ſtrictly to execute the revenue laws in America, or, with a good grace, abandon our right, and repeal the declaratory and revenue laws. Mr. Burke anſwered, there might be and was a proper medium; the right of taxing was undoubted, but a miniſter ought to be well convinced of the expediency before he attempted to enforce it. The repreſentation was not received. May. At a late period of the ſeſſion, Governor Pownall moved to repeal the revenue acts affecting North America, and ſupported his motion by a long and able ſpeech; but as the diſcuſſion of ſuch an important queſtion would protract the riſing of the houſe to a very advanced period, it was poſtponed till the next ſeſſion.

THE transfer of Corſica to France was an early topic of debate, but produced no intereſting remark, or uſeful information. A motion for the correſpondence between the Britiſh and French miniſtry, and for inſtructions and other papers, introduced a diſcuſſion on the value of the acquiſition. The oppoſition maintained that, every acceſſion of power to France was dangerous to this country; and as great attention had been paid for ſo many years to the maintenance of a proper equilibrium among the powers of Europe, the invaſion of that iſland ought to have been conſidered as a violent breach of treaty, and ſubverſive of that equilibrium. It was replied, that Corſica was a place of no importance, deſtitute of a good harbour, and an acquiſition that would prove rather an evil than a benefit to France: but at all events, loaded as we already were with debt; folly and madneſs alone could impel us to engage in war for ſo ſmall an object. The motion was rejected. 17th Nov. 1768. Debate reſpecting Corſica.

THE Nullum Tempus bill of laſt ſeſſion was paſſed; and on the motion of Governor Pownall, its benefits were extended to America. Nullum Tempus Bill.

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1769. 28th Feb. 1769. Arrears of the civil liſt diſcharged.

A MESSAGE from the King announced a deficiency in the revenue of the civil liſt, by which he had been compelled to contract debts, amounting to five hundred and thirteen thouſand five hundred and eleven pounds, which he requeſted the Houſe would enable him to diſcharge. A motion being made for papers to account for this arrear, they were promiſed by the miniſtry, but on condition that the King's requeſt ſhould not be delayed, as the papers could not be readily prepared. After three days of warm debate, the report of the committee was received, and the ſum granted.

2d Mar. 27th Feb. Agreement with the Eaſt India Company.

AN advantageous agreement with the Eaſt India Company was concluded for five years, during which term they were bound to pay an annuity of four hundred thouſand pounds, and to export a certain quantity of Britiſh goods. They were at liberty to increaſe their dividend within that time to twelve and a half per cent. provided the increaſe in any one year ſhould not exceed one per cent.: a deduction from the ſum payable to government, proportionate to any decreaſe of dividend which neceſſity might compel, was allowed; and if the dividend ſhould be reduced to ſix per cent. the payment to government was to ceaſe; but any ſurplus of the Company's caſh remaining in England, after payment of certain ſpecified debts, was to be lent to the public at two per cent.

Prorogation. 9th May.

THESE were the principal parliamentary tranſactions of the ſeſſion, which was terminated by a ſpeech from the throne of conſiderable length: "It gives me great concern," the King ſaid, "to be obliged to recommend to you, with more than ordinary earneſtneſs, that you would all, in your ſeveral counties, exert your utmoſt efforts for the maintenance of public peace, and good order. You muſt be ſenſible that whatever obſtructs the regular execution of the laws, or weakens the authority of the magiſtrate, muſt leſſen the only ſecurity the people can have for the undiſturbed

undisturbed enjoyment of their rights and liberties. From your endeavours in this common cause I promise myself the most salutary effect: on my part no countenance or support shall be wanting: for as I have ever made, and ever shall make, our excellent constitution the rule of my own conduct, so shall I always consider it equally my duty to exert every power with which that constitution has intrusted me, for preserving it safe from violations of every kind; fully convinced, that in so doing I shall most effectually provide for the true interest and happiness of my people."

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CHAPTER THE SIXTEENTH:

1766—1770.

Affairs of India. — Conduct of Lord Clive. — State of the Company's poſſeſſions. — Mode of letting lands. — Reform attempted. — Difficulties of the Company. — Miſmanagement in India. — Immenſe exportation of bullion. — Gold coined. — Regulation of inland trade. — Lord Clive returns to England. — Account of Hyder Ally — his enmity againſt the Engliſh. — The Nizam of the Deccan declares war — but is compelled to make peace. — Progreſs of the war with Hyder Ally till the peace. — Effects of the war. — Alarm in England. — Depreciation of India Stock. — Superviſors appointed. — Claims of Government. — Final adjuſtment. — Perturbation of the public. — Middleſex petition. — London petition. — Publication of Junius's Letters — his libel on the King. — Beckford elected lord mayor. —— Affairs of Ireland. — Augmentation of the military eſtabliſhment. — Money bill rejected. — The lord lieutenant's proteſt. — Sudden prorogation of the Iriſh parliament.

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1766. Conduct of Lord Clive.

LORD Clive diſplayed the utmoſt judgment and prudence in framing and enforcing a ſyſtem of economy in India, which tended to promote the intereſt, and repleniſh the coffers, of his employers. But the vigour and reſolution with which he exerted himſelf againſt the peculations of inferior officers drew on him virulent cenſures, and his conduct was arraigned with unuſual ſeverity. It was peeviſhly alle[illegible] that his reforms were not thought of till his own fortune was made; and had the ſame rigid principles which he was now inclined to put in practice againſt his inferiors, been enforced to the prejudice of his intereſts, he would never have acquired that wealth which many contemplated with envy, and few conſidered as the reward of equivalent ſervices. He was accuſed of arrogance in aſſuming to himſelf the merit of the late pacification, as the ſucceſſes which

which enabled him to make so good terms, were all obtained during his absence, and he arrived only in time to sanction measures, which, without his interference, would have been equally well arranged[a].

State of the Company's possessions in India.

THE acquisition of an extensive and important territory, abounding in the means of wealth, promised an ample and gratifying return, both to the Company and their servants; but they were too precipitate in their speculations. The riches of that part of India are the produce of laborious industry, encouraged by habitual moderation, and a facility of subsistence. The late revolutions, and the feebleness and vices incident to the government of the nabobs, had exhausted and impoverished the country. The lands which fell into the hands of the Company by the late treaty could not be immediately let to advantage; and the necessity of intrusting inferior agents with a too great portion of authority encouraged abuses.

Mode of letting lands.

THE mode of letting farms in India was unfavourable to cultivation, and ill calculated to produce benefit to the owners. The domains ceded by Mir Cossim were let, in 1762, by public auction, to the best bidders, for the short term of three years. Needy adventurers, without character or integrity, outbid the old farmers, who, having offered the utmost value according to a well-formed judgment, were obliged to relinquish the habitations they had long tenanted, and the fields they had long cultivated. The new possessors were enabled, by the plunder of those whom they ejected, to pay the first year's rent according to agreement, but afterward, had neither the means nor the inclination. The natives who took large tracts of land, under such disadvantageous circumstances, could not afford to encourage the inferior farmers by loans of money, according to the practice of former times: and without such assistance,

[a] See Letter from Messrs. Leycester and Gray to the Court of Directors, 29th September 1765, with a parliament [illegible], and several other letters published by authority. Transactions in India, p. 59.

even

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even the implements of huſbandry were wanting. A conſiderable portion of the renters, incapable of fulfilling their engagements, applied for a diſcharge in the ſecond year, glad, by foregoing their whole property, to obtain relief from their unprofitable contracts. Thus, under a nominal increaſe of revenue, the Company ſuffered a deficiency of real product; and as the demands of miniſtry and their ſtated expences required vaſt ſupplies, they were obliged to impoſe an unprecedented tax on the bazee zemen, or charity lands.

Its effects.

Reform attempted.

A BETTER adminiſtration of the territorial property being indiſpenſably neceſſary, a ſtrict ſcrutiny was made into the nature of ſeveral tenures. It was diſcovered, that bidders had been found for little more than two-fifths of the lands, and that the moſt beneficial of theſe were held in different names by officers of the Company, and by Gentoo agents acting clandeſtinely for Europeans. The remainder of the lands in the immediate tenure of the government fell under the care of collectors, who oppreſſed the people, and accounted in a moſt diſhonourable manner to their employers. The farmers, anxious to retrieve ſome part of the property which had been taken from them by the hand of rapacity, offered, on condition of receiving a ſmall proportion of the ſpoil, to lay open all the frauds of the collectors: the firſt object of the ſelect committee was to remove the oppreſſive and unjuſt landholders, and to find good tenants in their ſtead: this was eaſily accompliſhed; for, even at a bad ſeaſon, ſubſtantial natives were willing to take farms on equitable terms, conſenting at the ſame time to pay any general tax impoſed on the whole province. The officers of government were alſo obliged to relinquiſh the farms which they had clandeſtinely obtained, or to forego their offices. Thus each individual reaped the benefits of his own labours; the lands became highly cultivated and improved, and the net receipts from the demeſnes ſub-

ject to theſe beneficial regulations, were largely augmented. CHAP. XVI.

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Diſcontents and complaints.

THESE meaſures, however wiſe and ſalutary in themſelves, created innumerable enemies to the government. Every officer who returned home, or correſponded with his friends, taught diſappointment to aſſume the language of philanthropy and patriotiſm; and, conſidering himſelf the victim of reform, began to point out faults in the conduct of thoſe who occaſioned his complaints. From the reports of theſe people, and the eagerneſs of proprietors to realize advantages which they thought were injuriouſly withheld, the directors had been driven to declare an increaſed dividend.

Difficulties of the Company.

THE revenues expected from India would in time have juſtified their meaſures; but ſome delays were neceſſary: the government of the Engliſh was new, and their acquaintance with the territory, genius, and reſources of the inhabitants, incomplete. No leiſure was allowed to perfect their knowledge, or give beneficial effect to their projects. The ſtated demands of the mogul, the nabob, and the army, the increaſed dividend voted by the proprietors, and the ſums ſtipulated to be paid to the treaſury, formed ſuch a maſs of engagements, and required ſuch eager and unremitting exertions to obtain ſupplies, as, in the end, proved highly prejudicial: and the diſputes between the Company and their ſervants breaking out into mutual criminations, afforded means of cavilling to the enemies of the eſtabliſhment. The great information which was thus afforded of their conduct and proceedings gave ſo many plauſible topics of cenſure, that their defence always failed of making a due impreſſion; and the too great eagerneſs of parliament and the proprietors to derive immediate advantages from the acquiſitions in India produced many events, which moderation and temperance might have prevented.

THESE

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1766. Miſmanagement in India.

THESE circumſtances occaſioned a large inveſtment to be made by the Company, or in other words, large orders to be ſent for the manufactures of the country, while the price was increaſed by a competition with the French and Dutch, who now began to diſpute a priority and preference in the market. The method of obtaining the ſupplies or inveſtments had hitherto been by contracts with certain merchants, who advanced to the labourers ſuch ſums as were neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence during the performance of their tasks. Without this accommodation they muſt often be unable to procure even the firſt materials. The merchants were ſometimes not ſufficiently opulent to lend all the monies required for theſe purpoſes; and as the demands of the Company were urgent and immenſe, the government at Calcutta thought it conſiſtent with their intereſt to afford thoſe ſupplies, and enter into contracts with the manufacturers, who muſt elſe have remained unemployed. This meaſure, although ſufficiently prudent in appearance to juſtify the experiment, was not attended with the deſired ſucceſs. A government ſeldom makes contracts which are advantageous in the detail, and frauds are practiſed on them without ſcruple, which an individual would feel repugnance in attempting toward his equal. Thus the Indian manufacturers, after receiving the ſums advanced by the Board, would, unleſs ſtrictly watched, ſell the commodities for which they had contracted to other perſons. The neceſſity of employing vigilance, demanded the ſervice of numerous gomaſtahs, or agents; theſe men were neceſſarily intruſted with extenſive powers, which they often perverted; and the authorities given to prevent fraud became a ſource of oppreſſion. The influence of theſe agents proved ſo deſtructive of induſtry, that the Board reverted to the old practice of contracting with merchants.

THE

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1766.

THE increaſing inveſtments of Great Britain and other nations, together with the China trade, which was at that time entirely carried on in bullion, contributed greatly to drain Bengal of current ſpecie. In five years next ſucceeding the grant of the Dewannee, the ſums exported by the Engliſh Company only amounted to one million two hundred and eighty-four thouſand and eight pounds ſterling; and from the year 1757 to 1766, when a gold coinage was commenced, Bengal had loſt, by deficiency in the uſual imports of bullion, and by the exportation of ſilver, more than eight millions ſterling. In vain the ſelect committee repreſented this alarming fact to the court of directors, and requeſted them to find means of alleviating the growing diſtreſs: the directors, aſſailed by oppoſition, and urged by government, were unable to apply their attention to ſo remote an object; perhaps, too, they, like others, were deluded by a belief in the inexhauſtible riches of Bengal, and did not give full credit to the informations which reached them: thus the exportation of bullion ſtill continued.

Immenſe exportation of bullion.

To ſupply the deficiency occaſioned by this conſtant drain on the ſilver of Bengal, the ſelect committee found it neceſſary to eſtabliſh a gold coinage for their immediate purpoſes. But as gold was not the uſual currency of the country, the habits and prejudices of the natives oppoſed the eaſy reception of it in payment: it could not be made uſe of in the China trade, or exported to advantage: proper meaſures were not taken to enſure its purity, and therefore it was often ſuſpected, and in fact frequently much deteriorated in value: ſtill neceſſity enforced the uſe of it as a circulating medium; and the exchange, always againſt the poſſeſſor, by its various fluctuations in different parts of India, gave birth to a dangerous traffic, which increaſed the diſtreſs of the Company. Silver at the ſame time roſe in value, becauſe native officers, who were conſtantly employed in preſerving that coinage

Gold coined in India.

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unadulterated, melted down the rupees once in three years. Thus the introduction of gold coin, inſtead of facilitating commerce, and rendering the tranſaction of buſineſs more pleaſant, occaſioned additional inconveniences, and engendered new diſputes.

Regulation of the inland trade.

ANOTHER regulation adopted by Lord Clive and the ſelect committee related to the inland trade. The inſolence and injuſtice with which this traffic had been conducted, formed a principal ground of the quarrel between the council and Mir Coſſim; and when, after the arrival of Lord Clive, the ſelect committee propoſed to revive the inland commerce in ſalt, tobacco, and beetle nut, it is not ſurpriſing that the directors, although they agreed to permit it for ſome time, afterwards retracted their aſſent, expreſſing a total diſapprobation. By the projected monopoly, the neceſſary article of ſalt was reduced in price to the conſumer, while great benefits accrued to government from an augmentation of the revenue; nor was the native expoſed to inſolence, injuſtice or extortion. The ſuppoſed ordinary effect of monopoly, that of producing ſcarcity, was not to be apprehended in this caſe, becauſe the advantage of the monopoliſts did not conſiſt in raiſing the price of a ſmall quantity, but in diſperſing a large quantity at a reaſonable rate. The article could, without difficulty, be increaſed to any amount, and the greater the ſale, the more ample was the revenue to government, and the more abundant the profit and the praiſe of the council. Tobacco and beetle nut, do not appear ſo much in the light of neceſſaries; but ſuch is the effect of habit among the Indians, that theſe two luxuries are conſidered no leſs indiſpenſable than ſalt, or even food itſelf. While the monopoly of theſe articles remained in the hands of perſons appointed by and under the ſuperintendance of the council; while an immenſe capital excluded all mean and narrow views; the ſupplies were abundant, and the diſtribution general and eaſy: but when the order of the court of directors arrived for the diſcon-

Dec. 1766.

tinuance

tinuance of this trade by the council, it fell into the hands of individuals, whose interests were different, and whose modes of conduct were also essentially dissimilar. Their object was to produce the greatest possible profit from the smallest imaginable capital, and therefore to take advantage of the wants and desires of individuals, and even of bodies; to alarm by fictitious scarcities, and reduce the quantity of all these articles, that at a less expence in superintendence, carriage, and duties, they might secure an equal or superior return.

Prudent conduct of Lord Clive.

On receiving the Company's orders, Lord Clive carefully excluded their servants from any share in a traffic, which he foresaw would become a source of endless iniquities: he had before relinquished his share in the benefits of the trade, and now endeavoured to restrain all abuses which might ensue from Europeans embarking in it with too much avidity. His efforts were not attended with the desired success; but he did not continue in India to witness their failure. His health was impaired, and his life in imminent danger from a late illness. He had completed, to the utmost of his power, the object of his mission, and returned to England not enriched, but five thousand pounds less opulent by his expedition. Mr. Verelst was for a time his successor [b].

He returns to England.

Jan. 1767.

Account of Hyder Ally.

Soon after Lord Clive's departure, hostilities were again commenced between the British and the natives in consequence of the intrigues and turbulence of a newly-created potentate. Hyder Ally, or, as he was called from his military rank, Hyder Naick, was son of Fatty Naick, an officer of distinguished bravery, who commanded a thousand musket men in the service of Abdul Rassoul Khan, nabob of Sirpi, a government bordering on the kingdom of Mysore. Fatty Naick was slain in an engagement between the nabob of Sirpi

[b] For these particulars reference has been had to Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal, with the Appendix; the papers published by authority; and the History of Transactions in India.

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and Cuttulich Khan, ſubah of the Deccan. Hyder Naick, thus left an orphan in his earlieſt years, diſclaimed every other purſuit, and devoted himſelf entirely to military duties. At the age of twenty-five, he appeared in the army of Carraforce Nanderauze, brother-in-law to the King of Myſore, at the head of about three-ſcore men, and aſſumed the name of Hyder Ally. The diſcipline of his ſmall troop, and his own judgment and valour, were ſo conſpicuous, that in three or four years, he found himſelf enabled to raiſe five hundred ſepoys, armed and equipped in the European manner, and two hundred horſe, with a ſmall train of artillery. His force was leſs reſpectable in point of numbers, than of military ſcience; they were formed by his own care, and exactly inſtructed in the European tactics. His activity and judgment in uſing all the advantages with which he was ſupplied by fortune, aided by an ambitious and treacherous diſpoſition, enabled him, after a ſeries of conteſts, intrigues, and treaſons, to depoſe his ſovereign, and aſſume the government of Myſore. This event took place in 1763. When inveſted with ſovereign authority, he purſued his conqueſts, and added ſeveral other demeſnes to his uſurped territory.

His enmity againſt the Engliſh.

FINDING the Britiſh power a ſtrong reſtraint on the native princes, and an inſurmountable barrier againſt his further encroachments, he reſolved to excite all the country powers whom he could influence, to commence hoſtilities; and began by prevailing on the nizam of the Deccan to forego his connexion with the Company, to enter into alliance with him, and declare war againſt the Engliſh.

The nizam of the Deccan declares war.

They are defeated.

THIS combination was ſoon formed, but the council of Madras were prepared to meet it with vigorous oppoſition. Colonel Smith was detached, at the head of a reſpectable force, to encounter the allies. He

26th Feb. engaged them at Errour, near Trinomaly, and, notwithſtanding an immenſe ſuperiority of numbers, and the perſonal bravery and judgment of Hyder Ally, routed

routed them with great loſs. The nizam of the Deccan, no longer apprehenſive of his ally, concluded a peace with the Company, and ceded to them the Dewannee of the Balagat Carnatic, which included the territory of Hyder.

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1760.

The nizam makes peace.

BUT the vigour and valour of that prince were not ſubdued by one reverſe of fortune: he retired to his own dominions, and prepared to carry on a protracted war in an inacceſſible country. The Engliſh fitted out a ſquadron from Bombay againſt Mangalore, one of Hyder Ally's principal ſea ports; took the fort with inconſiderable loſs, and brought away nine large veſſels, beſides ſeveral ſmaller; but from an injudicious anxiety to retain their acquiſition, left a few ſoldiers to garriſon the fort, who were all ſubſequently captured.

Capture of Mangalore.

25th Feb. 1768.

COLONEL SMITH proceeded in purſuit of the enemy, but could not bring him to another engagement. He penetrated into his country, took ſeveral fortreſſes, and was advancing towards the capital, when his attention was called to other objects. Hyder Ally, taking advantage of the error which Colonel Smith had committed, in proceeding ſo far from his own territory, by a judicious and dexterous plan of operations, got between the Engliſh forces and the Carnatic, which he ravaged at pleaſure. The Company's troops, now obliged to turn their attention to the defence of their own dominions, and thoſe of their allies, abandoned all their conqueſts, and haſtened to meet Hyder Ally, who, indulging his ancient animoſity againſt Mahommed Ally Khan, nabob of Arcot, was committing unbounded depredations in his country. Eager do defend ſo faithful and honourable an adherent of Great Britain, Colonel Smith uſed every effort to bring Hyder to a general engagement; but that cautious adverſary, juſtly appreciating the ſuperiority of European tactics, would not riſk a conflict: no majority of numbers, no advantage of opportunity,

Error of the Engliſh commander.

Sagacious conduct of Hyder Ally.

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could for a long time tempt him to try his fate in the field.

1767. Failure of the Britiſh at Mulwaggle.

At length Colonel Wood, with a ſmall detachment, being repulſed in an attack on a fort called Mulwaggle, Hyder, with fourteen thouſand horſe, twelve thouſand matchlocks, and ſix battalions of ſepoys, attempted to cut off his retreat. Although Colonel Wood had only four hundred and ſixty Europeans, and two thouſand three hundred ſepoys, he felt no heſitation in aſſailing the enemy. The engagement was obſtinately conteſted, and laſted from eleven o'clock in the forenoon, till five in the evening. The field was alternately won and loſt ſeveral times, but at length the ſuperiority of Britiſh diſcipline decided the victory; and Hyder retreated, leaving the ground covered with dead. The Engliſh loſt a few officers, and about three hundred privates were killed and wounded. Several officers were alſo taken priſoners, and two pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the enemy.

4th Oct. Engagement between Colonel Wood and Hyder Ally.

1768.

Undaunted by this defeat, Hyder Ally again availing himſelf of his ſuperior cavalry, and leaving the Britiſh army in the Carnatic, proceeded to the neighbourhood of Madras. The preſidency, ſenſible of the ruinous conſequences attending this warfare, and apprized that Hyder was forming an alliance with one of the Mahratta princes, offered a negotiation for peace. The continuance of war was not more deſirable to the Indian than to the Engliſh; whatever temporary ſucceſs might crown his arms, he was ſenſible that it was not in his power to make any impreſſion on the fortreſſes of his enemy, and that, while at a diſtance from his own territories, he was expoſed to the dangers of inſurrection and revolution. In his treaty for peace, he diſplayed the ſame judgment as in the conduct of the war: he refuſed to accede to a propoſed truce for fifty days, which would afford time for the Engliſh to collect new forces; but agreed to

to equitable conditions, when propoſed within a limited period. The forts and places captured were reſtored, and no compenſations received on either ſide for the expences of the war, The treaty of peace was attended with an alliance offenſive and defenſive: ſtipulations were entered into for mutual aids, and a free trade eſtabliſhed [c].

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THUS terminated a war in which the Engliſh acquired neither glory nor advantage. The conduct of it was rendered difficult, and the efforts of ſkill and valour were reſtrained, by the appointment of field deputies, an office unknown in the Engliſh ſervice. Theſe deputies attended the army and regulated its motions; they were intereſted in the contracts, and therefore ſuppoſed to be more intent on private emolument than the public good; they protracted the war, embarraſſed the genius, and reſtrained the operations of the commanders. Many brave officers retired in diſguſt; ſeveral who remained ſerved without ſpirit; and ſome, preferring to ſeek their fortunes in another ſervice, went over to the native princes. This diſguſt and indifference proved of more advantage to Hyder Ally, than numbers, diſcipline, or valour; it enabled him to retrieve his affairs, and compel the Britiſh government to ſue for peace.

Obſervation on the conduct of the war.

THE conſequences of this war were incalculably injurious to the affairs of the Company. The preſidency of Madras, unable alone to ſupport the expences, were obliged to draw on the council at Calcutta for ſupplies. The money remitted from Bengal, during the depreciation of coinage, occaſioned additional difficulties; an immenſe loſs enſued from the enhanced rate of exchange, and the poſſeſſors of ſilver which could not be adulterated were ſo tenacious, that very few rupees were in circulation. The diſtreſs introduced by theſe means was ſo great, that the inveſtments could no longer be made from Madras to China, and

Effects of the war.

[c] Robſon's Life of Hyder Ally. Tranſactions in India.

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the want of ſpecie concurred with the dread of the enemy to ſuſpend the labours of the manufacturers. In this criſis, a new ſubject of alarm aroſe in Sujah ul Dowlah, who was augmenting and diſciplining his forces; but a deputation from the council at Calcutta, ſent to examine into his conduct, eaſily induced him to diſband a great part of his troops, and enter into a compact not to increaſe them beyond a certain ſtipulated number.

Alarm in England.

GREAT alarms were excited in England by the apparent danger of the Company's affairs; thoſe who recently contemplated India as a never-failing ſource of riches, and as a territory ſufficiently opulent to provide for all the exigences of Great Britain, now conſidered it as a precarious, and perhaps unprofitable tenure. The diſtance of the country, and uncertainty of information, aggravated the horrors of apprehenſion, and produced ſenſations of deſpair. India ſtock fell in a few days ſixty per cent. Under theſe circumſtances, the directors thought it neceſſary to ſend out new commiſſioners, whom they called ſupervifors, with authority to examine and rectify the concerns of every department, and a full controul over all their ſervants in India. This important truſt was confided to three gentlemen who had already filled high ſituations in India; Mr. Vanſittart and Mr. Scrafton having diſtinguiſhed themſelves in civil employs, and Colonel Ford in the military ſervice.

May 1769. Depreciation of India ſtock.

14th June. Supervifors appointed.

Diſputes in the India houſe.

STILL the uſual party diſputes prevailed in the India houſe, and great debates aroſe, not only on the nomination of ſupervifors, but on their powers. Theſe differences were ſcarcely terminated, before the directors were further embarraſſed by a claim of the miniſtry, that a ſervant of the crown ſhould be allowed to take a principal ſhare in the management of their affairs. This demand was made in conſequence of an application from the court of directors for the employment of a naval force of two ſhips of the line, and ſome frigates, in their ſervice; and as the petition, was

Claim of the government.

27th July.

was not immediately acceded to, it was enforced by a requeſt ſanctioned by the whole body of proprietors at a general court. CHAP. XVI. 1768.

AN anſwer was received from Lord Weymouth, who pointed out ſome objections in law to the commiſſion of the ſupervifors, and requeſted that it ſhould be re-conſidered; and required that the naval officers ſent out by government ſhould have unlimited power in the regulation of maritime affairs. The jealouſy of the court againſt any attempt to encroach on their authority, on one hand, and their dread of loſing the advantages to be derived from a ſtrong naval force, on the other, occaſioned numerous and violent debates, and a long correſpondence between the directors and the ſecretary of ſtate. At length a compromiſe was effected, and Sir John Lindſay, the admiral appointed by government, ſailed for the Gulph of Perſia, with full powers to make peace and war in Perſia only. The ſupervifors departed in a ſhip belonging to the Company. 11th Aug. Correſpondence on the ſubject. 30 Aug. Final adjuſtment. 22d Aug.

THE alluſion in the King's ſpeech, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, to the perturbed ſtate of the public mind, was ſtrongly founded in fact; for at no period of hiſtory was a more general, audacious, and clamourous oppoſition exhibited in a regular government. Before the riſing of parliament, a letter was received by the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, enumerating ſuppoſed encroachments on the liberties of the people, and threatening another revolution [d]. Every artifice was uſed to increaſe the fury of the public, and incite them to make the privilege or petitioning, reſerved by the bill of rights, the means of giving pain to the King, and conveying ſentiments of diſloyalty to the foot of the throne. Among the engines uſed to forward the views of faction, and keep alive the irritability of the populace, was Allen, the father of the unfortunate youth who was killed in the Perturbation of the public. 19th April 1768.

[d] Gentleman's Magazine, 1769, p. 213.

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riot in St. George's Fields. A tomb-ſtone was erected, inſcribed on all ſides with inflammatory narratives, verſes, and texts from the holy ſcripture, deſcribing his fate in acrimonious terms, and invoking vengeance on his murderers[c]. The parent was alſo induced to attend at St. James's with a petition which, in terms of reproach and clamorous invective, demanded juſtice againſt "The cruel murderers "of his beloved child, whoſe blood cried aloud for "vengeance."

Middleſex petition.

THE rage of publiſhing diſloyal proclamations, under the form of petitions, was now general, and the county of Middleſex took the lead. Fifteen hundred and ſixty-five freeholders ſigned a petition to the King, containing a ſeries of aſperſions on his conduct from the period of his acceſſion, accuſing the miniſters of treaſon, and praying for their diſmiſſion. The citizens of London adopted a ſimilar meaſure, and made their conduct ſtill more conſpicuous by altercations with the ſecretary of ſtate, and Lord Huntingdon, on points of etiquette. Their petition was an abſtract of that from the county of Middleſex, with ſome additions, and was preſented to the King at a levee. The electors of Weſtminſter petitioned for a diſſolution of parliament, and their example was followed by many counties, cities, and towns throughout the kingdom. A few addreſſes of an oppoſite tendency were preſented.

24th May.

London petition,

5th July.

Publication of Junius's Letters.

AMONG the moſt conſpicuous of thoſe whom the rage of political diſcuſſion engaged in publications, was an anonymous author, who ſent his productions to a newſpaper, under the ſignature of Junius. His eſſays commenced with the preſent year, and, with occaſional interruptions, continued till the beginning of 772. In him the miniſtry found a ſevere and formidable cenſor: his information was extenſive and minute, and applied to

21ſt Jan. 1769.

[c] See Annual Regiſter, 1769, p. 116.

many

many objects which were ſuppoſed to be ſecret. He detailed without ſcruple or delicacy, all the facts in his poſſeſſion, and often ſupplied a deficiency of information by bold conjecture or ſhameleſs fiction. His writings were diſtinguiſhed by energy of thought, perſpicuity of ſtyle, felicity of illuſtration, and brilliancy of wit: but his wit was ſcurrilous and malignant; wounding, without remorſe, the honour of a gentleman, the feelings of a father, and the dignity of the ſovereign. Although he made perſonal topics the principal vehicles of his ſatire, his knowledge was not confined to mere anecdote, but comprized a general acquaintance with the laws and conſtitution of the country, the hiſtory and uſages of parliament. Junius was long the admiration of England, but perhaps his talents were too highly valued. Many political writers before him had poſſeſſed his advantages; and whatever opinion may have been ſtudiouſly diffuſed reſpecting his knowledge, wit, and eloquence, in theſe requiſites he did not excel the great party champions of the late reign, Bolingbroke, Pulteney, and Cheſterfield. The ſecreſy in which he effectually involved his real perſon, was highly advantageous to him as a writer. It furniſhed him with the opportunity of declaring ſuch ſentiments as would be agreeable to the public, without reference to any opinions he might previouſly have entertained, and enabled him to aſſail men in every rank and condition of life, without poſſibility of retaliation, or dread of inquiry. Thoſe who anſwered, preſented a full mark to his aſſaults, and their principles, manners, profeſſions, and even their habits, were unſparingly attacked, while he remained impaſſive to reproach, and exempt from the neceſſity of defence. Perhaps too much of the curioſity and eagerneſs with which his publications were received, reſulted from this circumſtance. A ſeries of ſatires preſented for ſo long a period, from one pen, would have ceaſed to excite regard, had any circumſtance reſpecting the author been known. Thoſe who

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by his converſation could have learned his ſentiments, by his connexions could have divined his motives, or from his purſuits have explored his means of information, would ſoon have become languid readers, and the ſenſation of indifference, ſpreading from ſeveral quarters, would have extended to a general diſregard, perhaps to contempt. Even with all the advantages he poſſeſſed, Junius, in order to ſtimulate the public curioſity, was occaſionally compelled to aſſume a tone of brutal ferocity, which reduced his compoſitions to a level with thoſe of the moſt profligate libellers, and ſanctioned the imputation of a motive for concealment, very remote from an honourable love of freedom in the declaration of his opinions.

19th Dec. His libel on the King.

ANXIOUS to gratify to the utmoſt that licentious diſpoſition on which the ſucceſs of his productions in a great meaſure depended, this writer thought fit to addreſs to the public, through his accuſtomed channel, a moſt virulent attack on the perſon, conduct, and government of the King, and threatened general diſſatisfaction, rebellion, and revolution, as the reſult of the preſent meaſures. By this letter, the printer, and ſeveral others who re-publiſhed it, incurred the penalties of the law; but the popularity of the author was not diminiſhed by the audacity which impelled him to the verge of treaſon.

Beckford elected lord mayor.

WITH a view to embarraſs government, the city of London reſolved again to nominate Alderman Beckford lord mayor. An attempt was made to prevent his election, by referring to ſome bye-laws of the corporation, paſſed in the reigns of Henry VI. and Henry VIII. by which it was declared that the ſame perſon could not ſerve the office of lord mayor twice within ſeven years; but this objection was overruled by precedents. Mr. Beckford, declining the propoſed honour, was clamorouſly urged by the livery, and at length agreed to accept it. Lord Holland, who had been groſsly reflected on, in the late petition of the

22d Sept.

livery

livery to the King, wrote to the late lord mayor, requeſting to know the author of the aſperſion: the livery now paſſed reſolutions, avowing the intention to apply thoſe accuſations to Lord Holland, and urging their repreſentatives to procure his impeachment. CHAP. XVI. 1769. 10th Oct.

Affairs of Ireland.

WHILE ſuch was the temper of the public mind in England, Ireland was not more tranquil or contented; the octennial act, from which ſo many beneficial effects were expected, was no longer an object of exultation than while it was recent. The great expences attending elections were ſeverely felt, the conſtant reſidence of the lord lieutenant, which now firſt became a part of his duty, gave offence to many who found their power and influence diminiſhed, and a ſtrong oppoſition was ſpeedily formed. Loyal addreſſes, in anſwer to the ſpeech on opening the ſeſſion of parliament, being voted without much oppoſition in either houſe, the government, encouraged by this appearance, ventured to attempt augmenting the military eſtabliſhment from 12,000 to 15,235 men. The battalions on the Britiſh eſtabliſhment conſiſted, at this period, of 529 men each; thoſe on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment of no more than 328. In conſequence of this diſproportion, whenever an Iriſh regiment was ordered on foreign ſervice, it became neceſſary, previouſly to its departure, to complete its numbers by drafts from other Iriſh regiments; a mode of proceeding equally mortifying and diſpiriting to the officer and the private, and extremely detrimental to the ſervice. To remedy this inconvenience, it was now propoſed to decreaſe the numbers on the Britiſh and augment thoſe on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment. By the new plan, inſtead of thirty battalions of infantry, twenty-ſeven only were to be maintained: five in their turn were to be always employed on foreign ſervice; the remaining twenty-two, which, together with the cavalry, would amount to 12,000 men, were to remain for the protection of Ireland. It was alſo propoſed to eſtabliſh a regular rotation

17th Oct. Augmentations of military eſtabliſhment.

of

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of the infantry, who ſhould relieve each other in their reſpective ſituations throughout the King's dominions. A bill to this effect had been brought into a former parliament, but miſcarried: it now came recommended by an earneſt meſſage from the lord lieutenant, and although a ſtrong oppoſition was ſtill made, ultimately paſſed.

Money bill rejected.

IN another effort the oppoſition party was more ſucceſsful: a money bill had, according to the uſage eſtabliſhed for near fourſcore years, originated and been framed in the privy-council. It was returned from England under the great ſeal, and read in the Houſe

1ſt Nov.

of Commons. On the ſecond reading, the bill was rejected, after a ſtrenuous debate[f]; and the reaſon expreſsly aſſigned by the Houſe was, its not having originated with them. Yet to ſhew, as they ſaid, that they were not actuated by a factious or innovating ſpirit, they liberally and unconditionally provided for the exigencies of government. The rejected bill only ſupplied three months expenditure; but they paſſed an act which allowed a fund for two years and amounted to 2,168,681.

Lord lieutenant's proteſt. 26th Dec.

THIS proceeding did not atone to the lord lieutenant for the invaſion of the royal authority by the rejection of the former bill. In a ſpeech to both Houſes, after returning thanks for the ample ſupplies, he condemned, in terms of ſtrong reproach, the rejection of the money bill ſent from the privy-council, aſſerting that they had violated the law, and intrenched upon the juſt rights of the Crown; and he made, in full parliament, a proteſt againſt the reſolutions of the Commons, by which they claimed, that money bills ſhould originate with them; requeſting the clerk of the Houſe of Lords to read his proteſt, and that it ſhould be entered on the journals of the lower houſe.

Proceedings th reon.

THE lord lieutenant's diſpleaſure was not unknown before he declared it in parliament, and both Houſes

[f] 94 to 71.

pre-

prepared to meet it with adequate reſiſtance. In the House of Lords a motion was made, that directions be given to the ſpeaker, not to ſuffer a proteſt of any perſon, who was not a lord of parliament, to be entered on the journals. But the queſtion was overruled by a large majority, and conſequently the lord lieutenant's proteſt was recorded. At the concluſion of his ſpeech, the parliament was prorogued; but the Commons on returning to their own Houſe, forbad their clerk to enter the ſpeech, which they had juſt heard, on the journals, as it implied a proteſt againſt a proceeding in which they were determined to perſevere.

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Prorogation of the Iriſh parliament.

THE ſudden prorogation of parliament at a period when they had done no buſineſs, except voting ſupplies to government, excited much reſentment. The temporary laws which related to ſo many important objects were expired, and the regulations of trade, the public ſecurity, the ſupply of the capital, and the public charities were left in an unprovided ſtate: conſternation, diſtreſs, and diſcontent were loudly expreſſed in all quarters, and the whole kingdom was in confuſion and diſorder.

Inconveniences of the meaſure.

CHAPTER THE SEVENTEENTH:

1770.

Meeting of parliament. — King's ſpeech. — Addreſs oppoſed by Lord Chatham — Supported by Lord Mansfield — Lord Chatham's reply. — Speech of Lord Camden. — Addreſs oppoſed in the Houſe of Commons — but carried. — Second debate. — Strength of oppoſition. — Conduct of Lord Camden — his diſmiſſion. — Mr. Yorke appointed lord chancellor — his death — and character. — Great ſeal put in commiſſion. — Motion in the lords for a committee on the ſtate of the nation. — The Marquis of Rockingham's ſpeech. — Anſwer of the Duke of Graſton. — Lord Chatham. — Total change of miniſtry. — Lord North's miniſtry. — State of the nation debated in the Houſe of Commons — in the Houſe of Lords. — Committee diſſolved. — Motion of the Earl of Marchmont, affirming that the Houſe of Lords had no right to interfere in the deciſions of the Houſe of Commons — ſupported by Lords Mansfield and Egmont — oppoſed by Lord Chatham. — Altercations reſpecting the official conduct of Lord Camden — vindicated by Lord Chatham. — Lord Marchmont's motion carried. — Bill for regulating the conſequences of expulſion withdrawn. — Turbulence of the city of London. — Proceedings of the common-council and livery — their remonſtrance to the King — delivery to him on the throne — his anſwer. — Proceedings in parliament. — Addreſs of both Houſes. — Remonſtrances of Weſtminſter and Middleſex. — Wilkes liberated. — Lord Chatham's bill for reverſing the deciſion of the Houſe of Commons in his caſe — debates on it — rejected. — Lord Chatham's motion on the anſwer to the London remonſtrance — debate — motion rejected. — Lord Chatham's motion for a diſſolution of parliament — rejected. — Mr. Dowdeſwell's motion to diſqualify revenue officers, — rejected. — Law for annulling the protections granted by peers to their ſervants. — Lord Mansfield's ſpeech in ſupport of the meaſure. — Mr. Grenville's bill for deciding petitions on controverted elections. — Inquiry into the civil-liſt. — Petition from American merchants. — Repeal of duties, except on tea — Debate. — Act paſſed. — Motion for papers — for examination of the inſtructions to governors. — Motions in the lords. — Prorogation.

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WHEN the Britiſh parliament aſſembled, the King in his ſpeech, mentioned the affliction he felt at being obliged to acquaint them that the diſtreſſes

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treſſes of the ſubject were likely to be augmented by a diſtemper, which had recently appeared among the horned cattle*; but, by the advice of the privy-council, he had uſed his beſt efforts to ſtop the progreſs of the contagion. He obſerved, that the great burthens already impoſed on his ſubjects, by the neceſſity of bringing the late war to a proſperous concluſion, made him vigilant to prevent the preſent diſturbances in Europe from extending to thoſe places where the ſecurity, honour and intereſt of this nation might make it neceſſary for him to become a party; and that he had great hopes of maintaining the country in peace. He adverted with regret to the diſſatisfactions ſtill prevailing in America, and the combinations tending to deſtroy the commercial connexion between the colonies and the mother country. In concluſion, he recommended both houſes to avoid heats and animoſities, and cultivate a ſpirit of harmony; which would, above all things, contribute to maintain, in their proper luſtre, the ſtrength, reputation, and proſperity of the country, and ſtrengthen the attachment of the ſubject to that excellent conſtitution of government from which they derived ſuch diſtinguiſhed advantages.

9th Jan. 1770 Meeting of Parliament.

LORD CHATHAM, who was now ſufficiently recovered to attend his duty in Parliament, oppoſed the addreſs. His age and infirmities, he ſaid, would have formed a ſufficient excuſe, if he had continued in retirement, and never again taken a part in public affairs; but the alarming ſtate of the nation forced him once more to come forward, and execute that duty which he owed to his God, his ſovereign, and his country, and which he was determined to perform at the hazard of his life. He gave his approbation to the prudent meaſures taken with reſpect to the diſtemper among cattle, and avowed his opinion that there was a power in ſome degree arbitrary, with

The addreſs oppoſed by Lord Chatham.

* This ſpeech was unſparingly ridiculed in the public prints, and the ſeſſion was nick-named the *horned-cattle ſeſſion*.

which

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which the crown was intruſted by the conſtitution, ſuch as he had himſelf exerciſed to ſave the people from ſtarving.

WITH this obſervation Lord Chatham's approbation of the meaſures of government ended. He diſapproved of the peace, and averred it had been made ſo improvidently, as to leave the country without a ſingle ally: from this circumſtance we had during a peace of ſeven years, been continually on the verge of war. France on the other hand, had, carefully cultivated her alliances, eſpecially Spain, and that thus the whole houſe of Bourbon was united within itſelf, and ſupported by the cloſeſt connexions with the principal powers in Europe.

BUT however important might be the conſideration of foreign affairs, he conſidered the domeſtic ſituation of the country as demanding ſtill greater attention. He lamented the unhappy meaſures which had divided the colonies from Great Britain, and which he feared had drawn them into unjuſtifiable exceſſes. But as the houſe had no documents, he could not concur in calling their proceedings unwarrantable: to uſe ſuch an expreſſion was paſſing ſentence without hearing the cauſe or being acquainted with the facts. The diſcontent of two millions of people deſerved conſideration, and the foundation of it ſhould be removed; but we ſhould be cautious how we invaded the liberties of any part of our fellow ſubjects, however remote in ſituation, or unable to make reſiſtance. The Americans had purchaſed their liberty at a dear rate, ſince they had quitted their native land, and gone to ſeek it in a deſert.

HIS lordſhip proceeded to obſerve, that the parts of the addreſs already adverted to, bore no compariſon in point of intereſt to thoſe which remained. There never was a time when the unanimity recommended by the King was more neceſſary: and it was the duty of the houſe to inquire into the cauſes of the notorious diſſatisfaction expreſſed by the whole Engliſh

Engliſh nation; to ſtate them to their ſovereign, and to give him their beſt advice in what manner he ought to act. The privileges of the Houſe of Lords, however tranſcendant, however appropriate to them, ſtood, in fact, on the broad bottom of the people. The rights of the greateſt and meaneſt ſubjects had the ſame foundation, the ſecurity of the law, common to all. It was therefore their higheſt intereſt, as well as their duty, to watch over and guard the people; for when the people had loſt their rights, thoſe of the peerage would ſoon become inſignificant. "Be aſſured, my Lords," he continued, "that in whatever part of the empire you ſuffer ſlavery to be eſtabliſhed, whether it be in America, in Ireland, or at home, you will find it a diſeaſe which ſpreads by contact, and ſoon reaches from the extremities to the heart. The man who has loſt his own freedom, becomes from that moment an inſtrument, in the hands of an ambitious prince, to deſtroy the freedom of others." He then affirmed that the liberty of the ſubject was invaded, not only in the provinces but at home. The people were loud in their complaints, and would never return to a ſtate of tranquillity till they obtained redreſs; nor ought they; for it were better to periſh in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchaſe a ſlaviſh tranquillity at the expence of a ſingle iota of the conſtitution. He had no doubt the univerſal diſcontent of the nation aroſe from the proceedings againſt Mr. Wilkes, and therefore moved an amendment to the addreſs, purporting, that "the Houſe would with all convenient ſpeed take into conſideration the cauſes of the prevailing diſcontent, and particularly the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, touching the incapacity of John Wilkes; thereby refuſing (by a reſolution of one branch of the legiſlature only) to the ſubject his common right, "and depriving the electors of Middleſex of their free choice of a repreſentative."

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LORD MANSFIELD oppoſed the amendment. He had never delivered an opinion on the legality of the proceedings in the Houſe of Commons on the Middleſex election, nor ſhould he, whatever expectations might be formed, now declare his ſentiments. They were locked up in his own breaſt, and ſhould die with him: he wiſhed to avoid ſpeaking on the ſubject: but the motion was of a nature ſo extraordinary and alarming, as to preclude the poſſibility of his remaining ſilent. He acknowledged the diſtracted ſtate of the nation; but was happy with a ſafe conſcience to affirm, that it could in no reſpect be attributed to him. Declarations of law made by either Houſe of Parliament were always attended with bad effects: he conſtantly oppoſed them when he had an opportunity, and never in his judicial capacity thought himſelf bound to honour them with the ſlighteſt regard. He conſidered general warrants illegal, or rather no warrants at all, but was ſorry the Houſe of Commons ſhould declare it by their vote. Had they been declared legal, the courts at Weſtminſter would have adjudged otherwiſe, and thus the vote of the Houſe would have been treated with diſreſpect.

HE ſhewed the diſtinction between general declarations of law and particular deciſions which might judicially be made by either Houſe, on a caſe regularly ſubmitted to their diſcuſſion, and properly the ſubject of their juriſdiction. A queſtion relating to the ſeat of one of their members could only be determined by that Houſe; nor was there an appeal from their deciſion. Wherever a court of juſtice is ſupreme, and their ſentence final, as was the caſe of the Houſe of Commons in matters of election, the determination of that court muſt be received and ſubmitted to as the law of the land; for if there be no appeal from a judicial ſentence, where ſhall that ſentence be queſtioned, or how can it be reverſed? He avoided entering into the merits of the late

deciſion, from a conviction that the Lords had no right to inquire into, or diſcuſs the ſubject. The amendment threatened the moſt pernicious conſequences to the nation, as it manifeſtly violated every form and law of Parliament, was a groſs attack on the privileges of the Houſe of Commons, and inſtead of promoting that harmony which the King had recommended, muſt inevitably throw the whole country into a flame. There never was an inſtance of the Lords inquiring into the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons with reſpect to their own members; much leſs of their aſſuming a right to cenſure, or adviſing the crown to notice ſuch proceedings.

THE amendment would inevitably occaſion a quarrel between the two Houſes, or between the King and the Commons. If the lower Houſe had acted wrong, that wrong would not be repaired by the Lords committing a ſtill greater error. Their proceedings would in fact be no leſs ineffectual than irregular; for ſuppoſing the King ſhould diſſolve the Parliament, which he preſumed to be the true object of the amendment, the next Houſe of Commons, if they knew any thing of their own privileges, or of the laws, would undoubtedly, on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, declare the proceeding a violation of the rights of the Commons. In acting otherwiſe, they would ſhamefully betray their conſtituents and themſelves. In concluſion, he objected to the amendment, as irregular and unparliamentary, pregnant with pernicious conſequences, and not calculated to produce any advantage.

LORD CHATHAM began his reply by extolling the uſe of common ſenſe, in oppoſition to ſubtilty and ingenious refinement. He complained that the meaning of his amendment had been miſrepreſented, and denied having, either in the amendment, or in diſcourſe, ſaid one word touching the merits of the Middleſex election. Lord Chatham's reply.

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"THE conſtitution of the country," he obſerved, "has been openly invaded in fact; and I have heard with horror and aſtoniſhment, that invaſion defended upon principle. What is this myſterious power, undefined by law, unknown to the ſubject, which we muſt not approach without leave, nor ſpeak of without reverence; which no man may queſtion, and to which all men muſt ſubmit? I thought the ſlaviſh doctrine of paſſive obedience had long ſince been exploded; and, when our Kings were obliged to confeſs their title to the crown, and the rule of their government had no other foundation than the known laws of the land, I never expected to hear a divine right, or a divine infallibility, attributed to any other branch of the legiſlature. Power without right is the moſt odious and deteſtable object that can be offered to the human imagination: it is not only pernicious to thoſe who are ſubject to it, but tends to its own deſtruction. It is what Littleton has truly deſcribed it, *res deteſtabilis et caduca*.—I acknowledge the juſt power, and reverence the conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons. For their own ſakes, I would prevent their aſſuming a juriſdiction which the conſtitution has denied them, leſt, by graſping at an authority to which they have no right, they ſhould forfeit that which they legally poſſeſs. But I affirm they have betrayed their conſtituents, and violated the conſtitution. Under pretence of declaring the law, they have made a law, and united in the ſame perſons the offices of legiſlator and judge."

His Lordſhip then diſtinguiſhed between the legiſlative and juriſprudential functions of the Houſe of Commons, denying that they had a ſupreme juriſdiction, or that their deciſion muſt be received and ſubmitted to, as, *ipſa facto*, the law of the land. "The noble Lord aſſures us he knows not in what code the law of Parliament is to be found; that the Houſe of Commons, when they act as judges, have no

no law to direct them, but their own wiſdom; their deciſion is law; and if they determine wrong, the ſubject has no appeal but to heaven. What, then, are all the generous efforts of our anceſtors, are all thoſe glorious contentions, by which they meant to ſecure to themſelves, and tranſmit to their poſterity, a known law, a certain rule of living, reduced to this concluſion, that inſtead of the arbitrary power of a King, we muſt ſubmit to the arbitrary power of a Houſe of Commons? If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange? Tyranny is deteſtable in every ſhape, but in none ſo formidable as where it is aſſumed and exerciſed by a number of tyrants. But, this is not the fact, this is not the conſtitution; we have a law of parliament, we have a code in which every honeſt man may find it. We have Magna Charta, we have the Statute Book, and the Bill of Rights. The people when they chooſe their repreſentatives never mean to convey to them the power of invading the rights, or trampling on the liberties of thoſe whom they repreſent. What ſecurity would they have for their rights, if once they admitted that a court of judicature might determine queſtions, not by any known poſitive law, but by ſome vague, indeterminate, arbitrary rule?"

He denied precedents to be law; they were merely evidences of law, and of no authority, unleſs founded on, and confirmed by reaſon, taken from good and moderate times, not contradictory to any poſitive law, ſubmitted to without reluctance by the people, unqueſtioned by the legiſlature, and not inimical to the ſpirit of the conſtitution. "The firſt principle of the conſtitution is, that the ſubject ſhall not be governed by the *arbitrium* of any one man, or body of men (leſs than the whole legiſlature), but by certain laws, to which he has virtually given his conſent, which are open to him to examine, and not beyond his ability to underſtand. But the late deciſion of the Houſe of Commons on the Middleſex election,

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is deſtitute of every one of thoſe properties and conditions which I hold to be eſſential to the legality of ſuch a deciſion. It is not founded in reaſon, it is not ſupported by a ſingle precedent, and it contradicts Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights. Whether it be queſtioned by the legiſlature, will depend on your Lordſhips' reſolution; but that it violates the ſpirit of the conſtitution, will, I think, be diſputed by no man who has heard this day's debate, and who wiſhes well to the freedom of his country: yet, if we are to believe the noble Lord, this great grievance, this manifeſt violation of the firſt principles of the conſtitution, will not admit of a remedy; is not even capable of redreſs, unleſs we appeal at once to heaven. My Lords, I have better hopes of the conſtitution, and a firmer confidence in the wiſdom and conſtitutional authority of this Houſe." After highly applauding the ancient nobility as founders of the conſtitution, and invoking the Houſe not to degenerate from the glorious example of their anceſtors, he ſaid, "Thoſe iron barons (for ſo I may call them when compared with the ſilken barons of modern days) were the guardians of the people; yet their virtues were never engaged in a queſtion of ſuch importance as the preſent. A breach has been made in the conſtitution—the battlements are diſmantled—the citadel is open to the firſt invader—the walls totter—the conſtitution is not tenable. What remains, then, but for us to ſtand foremoſt in the breach, to repair, or periſh in it?"

GREAT pains had been taken, Lord Chatham ſaid, to excite alarm, by diſplaying the conſequences of a diſſonence between the two Houſes. He was ſenſible of the importance and difficulty of the criſis, but diſtinguiſhed between the repreſentatives, and the collective body of the people; he was deſirous, if the Houſe muſt engage in contention, to have the nation on their ſide. "If this queſtion be given up," he ſaid, "the freeholders of England are reduced to a com-

a condition baſer than the peaſantry of Poland. If they deſert their own cauſe, they deſerve to be ſlaves. CHAP. XVII. 1770.

"I am not now pleading the cauſe of an individual, but of every freeholder in England. In what manner this Houſe may conſtitutionally interpoſe in their defence, and what kind of redreſs this caſe will require and admit, is not the preſent ſubject of conſideration. The amendment, if agreed to, will naturally lead us to ſuch an inquiry. That inquiry may, perhaps, point out the neceſſity of an act of the legiſlature, or it may lead to a conference with the other Houſe. It is poſſible, that the inquiry may lead us to adviſe His Majeſty to diſſolve the parliament; nor have I any doubt of our right to give that advice, if we ſhould think it neceſſary. His Majeſty will then determine whether he will yield to the united petitions of the people of England, or maintain the Houſe of Commons in the exerciſe of a legiſlative power, which heretofore aboliſhed the Houſe of Lords, and overturned the monarchy. I willingly acquit the preſent Houſe of Commons of having actually formed ſo deteſtable a deſign; but they cannot themſelves foreſee to what exceſſes they may be carried hereafter; and for my own part, I ſhould be ſorry to truſt to their future moderation. Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the mind; and this I know—that where the law ends, tyranny begins!"

THE warmth of Lord Chatham ſeemed to communicate itſelf to Lord Camden. He ſaid "I accepted the great ſeal without conditions; I meant not therefore to be trammelled by His Majeſty; (I beg pardon) by his miniſters; but I have ſuffered myſelf to be ſo too long. For ſome time I have beheld with ſilent indignation the arbitrary meaſures of the miniſter; I have often drooped and hung down my head in council, and diſapproved, by my looks, thoſe ſteps which I knew my avowed oppoſition could not prevent; I will do ſo no longer, but openly and boldly Lord Camden.

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ſpeak my ſentiments," He coincided in opinion with Lord Chatham reſpecting the incapacitating vote of the Houſe of Commons; and added, that if in giving his opinion as a judge, he were to pay any reſpect to that vote, he ſhould look upon himſelf as a traitor to his truſt, and an enemy to his country. The miniſtry, he ſaid, by their violent and tyrannical conduct, had alienated the minds of the people from His Majeſty's government, he had almoſt ſaid, from His Majeſty's perſon; and in conſequence, a ſpirit of diſcontent had ſpread itſelf into every corner of the kingdom, and was every day increaſing; and if ſome methods were not deviſed to appeaſe the clamours ſo univerſally prevalent, he did not know but the people, in deſpair, might become their own avengers, and take the redreſs of grievances into their own hands. In fine, he accuſed the miniſtry, though not in expreſs terms, yet by direct implication, of having formed a conſpiracy againſt the liberties of the country. The amendment was negatived.

Addreſs in the Houſe of Commons.

In the Houſe of Commons the addreſs was no leſs ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, and an amendment was moved by Mr. Dowdeſwell, "that the Houſe would take into conſideration the cauſes of the unhappy diſcontents which prevailed in every part of His Majeſty's dominions."

The debate on this motion laſted twelve hours, but the details are not preſerved. The mention of horned cattle in ſo prominent a manner, occaſioned conſiderable ridicule; and it was repreſented as a great imprudence to hold out to the reſt of Europe the idea, that this country was too much diſtreſſed to engage in war. The conduct of the miniſtry with reſpect to America was reprobated in every particular. Colonel Barré obſerved, that many were alienated from His Majeſty; the miniſtry had contrived to ſow diſcontent in almoſt every part of the King's dominions; England in oppoſition to its own repreſentatives; in Ireland, the parliament prorogued for ſupporting the true

true conſtitutional right of taxation; the colonies in actual rebellion, for a tax, which the miniſtry confeſſed, was not intended to bring in money, but only as a teſt of obedience; and, perhaps, to crown the whole, France on the eve of a war with us. The Marquis of Granby too was diſſatisfied with the vote he had given on the Middleſex election; and wiſhed the Houſe would re-examine their reſolution. CHAP. XVII. 1770.

THE miniſtry expoſed and declaimed on the means which had been uſed to obtain ſignatures to petitions and remonſtrances; which the oppoſition members, far from denying, avowed with pride. Lord North ſaid, he would never conſent to annul the reſolutions of the Houſe in reſpect to the Middleſex election, and Sir Fletcher Norton averred they could not alter their former reſolutions, but by an act of the legiſlature.

THE amendment was rejected by a conſiderable majority [a]. But carried.

ON reporting the addreſs, another debate aroſe, in conſequence of an objection made by Sir William Meredith, that to thank the King for his approbation of the conduct of the Houſe, would imply an approval of the deciſion reſpecting the Middleſex election. Sir George Savile accuſed the Houſe of having betrayed the rights of the people. He was called to order; and General Conway, in reproof of his intemperance, obſerved, it was an inſult to parliament, and members had been ſent to the Tower for ſuch words. Sir George Savile was defended by Serjeant Glynn; Mr. Burke ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and conſcious of the popularity of the cauſe, challenged the miniſtry to puniſh Sir George, if he was a delinquent. He ſaid, the people abhorred the preſent miniſtry, and aſked the ſpeaker if the chair did not tremble under him. Sir George Savile oſtentatiouſly repeated the offenſive 10th Jan. Second debate.

[a] 254 to 138.

words;

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words; which occaſioned Mr. Fox to obſerve, that from the licentious language of ſome gentlemen, on that and the preceding day, it ſeemed as if the old decent freedom of debate was at an end, and they were endeavouring to eſtabliſh new forms. The expreſſion in the addreſs did not allude to any particular meaſure of parliament, nor to every meaſure, as no one could ſuppoſe His Majeſty approved of every reſolution adopted by the Houſe, but only of the general tenor of their actions. Mr. Burke replied with a ſneer, it ſignified little what the Houſe meant, but how the people would eſtimate their conduct; he was, however, glad to hear that nothing was meant by the addreſs. There was no diviſion [b].

Strength of oppoſition.

THE ſtrength diſplayed by the oppoſition, and the popular ground on which they ſtood, were ſufficient indications that great efforts had been uſed during the receſs, to unite the ſeveral parties into one conſiſtent uniform body. The reſignation of Lord Chatham, and his opportune recovery of health and faculties, affording him the means of again taking the lead of an active party, and of reviving his declining popularity. The reconciliation between him and Lord Temple united Mr. Grenville and his friends in their intereſts; a combination was ſpeedily formed between them and the Rockingham party, which included many of the firſt characters for talents and reſpectability in both Houſes. A diviſion was alſo effected among the miniſtry; for beſides Lord Camden, whoſe conduct in the upper houſe was ſo remarkable, Mr. Dunning, the ſolicitor-general, and the Marquis of Granby, commander in chief of the forces, divided with the minority in the Houſe of Commons.

Conduct of Lord Camden.

FROM Lord Camden's intemperate manner of declaring his oppoſition, it could not be expected that he ſhould retain his ſituation of chancellor; in fact his diſmiſſion was anticipated, and every effort

[b] This debate is inſerted to notice, as containing the firſt recorded parliamentary eſſay of the Honourable Charles James Fox.

uſed

uſed to embarraſs the government, and render it impoſſible to find a ſucceſſor. On the day the addreſs was debated in the Houſe of Lords, the Marquis of Rockingham moved that they ſhould be ſummoned on the morrow, as he wiſhed to make a propoſal of great national importance: but Lord Pomfret moved an adjournment for a week, a delay which was received with great indignation by the minority. Lord Temple ſaid, the Houſe knew for what purpoſe the adjournment was required; it was to ſettle the diſordered ſtate of the adminiſtration, which was ſhattered in a moſt miſerable manner, and, in all likelihood, would ſoon fall to pieces; and particularly to diſmiſs the virtuous and independent Lord who ſat on the woolſack, and ſupply his place with ſome obſequious lawyer who would do as he was commanded. Lord Shelburne alſo obſerved, that after the diſmiſſion of the preſent worthy chancellor, the great ſeal would go a-begging; but he hoped there would not be found in the kingdom, a wretch ſufficiently baſe and mean-ſpirited to accept of it on ſuch conditions as would gratify the miniſtry.

His diſmiſſion.

THE ſeal was taken from Lord Camden, and offered to Mr. Yorke, who had twice filled the office of attorney-general with the greateſt reputation for talents and integrity. The unſettled ſtate of parties, and the gloomy complexion of affairs, naturally occaſioned him to feel conſiderable reluctance at undertaking the high office to which he was called, at that particular time. Nothing probably could have overcome his repugnance, but the earneſt manner in which his acceptance of the great ſeal was preſſed upon him, by the King himſelf, as moſt eſſential to his ſervice. Thus urged, Mr. Yorke determined to obey the commands of his Sovereign, without reverſionary conditions of ſtipulations. He was immediately raiſed to the peerage by the title of Baron Morden, of Morden in Cambridgeſhire, an honour he did not live to poſſeſs, as the patent was not completed before his death, which

17th Jan. Mr. Yorke appointed lord-chancellor.

His death. 20th Jan.

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which occurred three days after he had received the great seal.

1770. And character.

Mr. Charles Yorke, second son of Philip, first Earl of Hardwicke, was born in 1723. He had studied the laws and constitution of his country, and their application to the science of politics, in the best school of the age; he was no less eminent at the bar than in the estimation of the most enlightened statesmen. His extensive literary acquirements, his great abilities, and the integrity of his character, were well known and universally respected. He was appointed solicitor-general in 1756, and while he held the important office of attorney-general, was deservedly high in the confidence of the administration, and of his country. His probable elevation to the dignity of chancellor had been long contemplated with hope and expectation by the public, and consequently his death was considered highly prejudicial to the interests of the nation, as, had he lived, a more firm and comprehensive system of administration might have been formed, and more conciliatory measures adopted toward the American colonies.

Great seal put in commission. 22d.

After the death of Mr. Yorke, the great seal was offered to Sir Eardley Wilmot, and to Lord Mansfield, but both declining, it was put in commission, and Lord Mansfield was appointed speaker of the House of Lords till there should be another chancellor.

Resignations.

The removal of Lord Camden was followed by several resignations; the Marquis of Granby gave up all his places except the regiment of blues; the Duke of Beaufort vacated his situation of master of horse to the Queen; the Duke of Manchester and the Earl of Coventry renounced their posts as lords of bed-chamber; the Earl of Huntingdon his place of groom of the stole; and Mr. James Grenville his office of one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland. Mr. Dunning, the solicitor-general, also resigned.

3d. State of the nation debated in the Lords.

During these transactions, the sittings of the Lords were suspended by adjournment, and no business

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1770. Marquis of Rockingham.

ſineſs of importance took place in the Lower Houſe, owing to the indiſpoſition of the ſpeaker. The Marquis of Rockingham had given notice of his intention to move for a day, for conſidering the ſtate of the nation, and, after the adjournment, made his motion. The preſent unhappy condition of affairs, and univerſal diſcontent of the people, he ſaid, did not ariſe from an immediate temporary cauſe, but had grown by degrees from the moment of His Majeſty's acceſſion. The perſons in whom the King then confided had introduced a total change in the old ſyſtem of government, and adopted a maxim which muſt prove fatal to the liberties of the country, namely, that the royal prerogative alone was ſufficient to ſupport government, to whatever hands it might be committed: and the Marquis, reviewing the acts of miniſters from the beginning of the reign, aſcribed them all to the prevalence of that principle. Having expreſſed his diſapprobation of many early tranſactions, he came to thoſe of the laſt preceding years: ſpoke with great ſeverity of the manner in which the civil-liſt arrears had been paid; cenſured the grant of Inglewood foreſt, which he aſſerted was made merely for the ſake of carrying the prerogative to its utmoſt extent; condemned the indecent hurry and precipitation with which that affair had been concluded, to prevent the Duke of Portland from vindicating his title; and accuſed the miniſtry of reſiſting the introduction of the Nullum Tempus Bill.

The external affairs of the empire, the Marquis averred, had been conducted with the ſame want of wiſdom, and brought into nearly the ſame condition, with thoſe at home. In Ireland, the parliament was prorogued, which probably led to a diſſolution, and the affairs of the kingdom left unprovided for, and in confuſion. He equally diſapproved the proceedings with reſpect to America, which he maintained were conducted on no fixed principle. The King's ſpeeches and

CHAP. XVII. 1770.

and the language of miniſtry, had denounced nothing but war and vengeance againſt a rebellious people; whilſt the governors abroad were inſtructed to convey the gentleſt promiſes of relief and ſatisfaction.

THE Marquis, after condemning the ſupineneſs of miniſtry, in permitting France to obtain ſo valuable a dominion as Corſica, ſaid, he avoided dwelling ſo ſtrongly as he might on the great invaſion of the conſtitution, which had thrown the whole country into a flame. "When the conſtitution is violated," he ſaid, "we ſhould not content ourſelves with repairing the ſingle breach, but look back into cauſes, and trace principles, in order, not merely to reſtore the conſtitution to preſent health, but render it, if poſſible, invulnerable hereafter." Upon the whole, he ſtrongly recommended the appointment of an early day for inveſtigating the ſtate of the country in all its relations and dependencies, foreign, provincial, and domeſtic. In conſequence of that conſideration the Houſe would, he hoped, indicate to the crown, the means not only of correcting paſt errors, but of eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of government more wiſe, more permanent, better ſuited to the genius of the people, and, at leaſt, conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the conſtitution.

Duke of Grafton.

THE Duke of Grafton ſaid, he had no intention to oppoſe the motion; on the contrary, he engaged to ſecond it, and meet the great queſtion whenever the Houſe ſhould think proper. For the preſent, he only meant to exculpate himſelf from reflections which ſeemed to apply particularly and perſonally to him. He vindicated the reſumption of the ſuppoſed grant of crown lands, which had been moſt unfairly repreſented, and aſſerted, that if the Duke of Portland, inſtead of being an opponent, had been the warmeſt friend of adminiſtration, the treaſury-board could not have adopted a different mode of conduct, without a flagrant violation of juſtice. As to the civil liſt, he aſſerted the perſons to whoſe offices it belonged,

longed, had been conſtantly employed in drawing up a ſtate of that account, and had received every poſſible light and information from the officers of the crown, in order to ſhorten and facilitate the buſineſs, which was of infinite labour and extent; and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt diligence, could not yet be completed. With reſpect to foreign affairs, the conduct of miniſtry would, on the ſtricteſt examination, be found irreproachable. He thought the terms of peace not ſo good as the nation had a right to expect, but he would never adviſe the King to engage in another war, as long as the dignity of the crown, and the real intereſts of the nation, could be preſerved without it. We had already ſuffered ſufficiently by foreign connexions to warn us againſt engaging lightly in quarrels, in which we had no immediate concern, and to which we might probably ſacrifice our own moſt eſſential intereſts. CHAP. XVII. 1770.

LORD CHATHAM followed the Duke of Grafton; he meant to have riſen immediately to ſecond the Marquis of Rockingham's motion, but agreed that the charge which the Duke ſeemed to think affected him, demanded an immediate anſwer. The conſtitution, he ſaid, was violated; and until that wound was healed, and the grievance redreſſed, it was in vain to recommend union to parliament, in vain to recommend concord among the people. "If we mean ſeriouſly to unite the nation within itſelf, we muſt convince them that their complaints are regarded, and that their injuries ſhall be redreſſed. On that foundation I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people: on any other, I would never wiſh to ſee them united again. If the breach in the conſtitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themſelves return to a ſtate of tranquillity; if not, may diſcord prevail for ever! If the King's ſervants will not permit a conſtitutional queſtion to be decided according to the forms, and on the principles of the conſtitution, it muſt then be decided Lord Chatham.

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cided in ſome other manner; and rather than it ſhould be given up, rather than the nation ſhould ſurrender their birth-right to a deſpotic miniſter, I hope, old as I am, to ſee the queſtion brought to iſſue, and fairly tried between the people and the government."

He diſſented from the principle, that nothing leſs than an immediate attack on the honour or intereſt of the nation, could authorize an interpoſition in defence of weaker ſtates, and in ſtopping the enterprizes of an ambitious neighbour. By the acquiſition of Corſica, he ſaid, France had obtained more in one pacific campaign, than in all her belligerent campaigns, at leaſt while he had the honour of adminiſtering war againſt her; and he expreſſed his fears that it was too much the temper of this nation to be inſenſible of danger, till it approached with accumulated terror.

He condemned the promiſe made by the lord-lieutenant, to maintain a certain quantity of troops in Ireland; it was incroaching on the royal prerogative; and he remembered when Minorca was loſt for want of four battalions, in conſequence of the delicacy which miniſters felt in taking them from Ireland. With reſpect to the arrears of the civil liſt, Lord Chatham ſaid, the Duke had given a number of plauſible reaſons why the account was not yet furniſhed, but no reaſon to hope it ever would be laid before the Houſe.

The waſte of public money was not of ſo much importance, as the pernicious purpoſe to which ſome portion of it had been applied. The riches of Aſia had poured in upon us, and with them, he feared, not only Aſiatic luxury, but Aſiatic principles of government. "Without connexions, without natural intereſt in the ſoil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into parliament, by ſuch a torrent of private corruption as no private hereditary fortune can reſiſt. The truth of my allegations is within the knowledge of the whole Houſe; the corruption

corruption of the people is the great original cauſe of the diſcontents of the people themſelves, of the enterprize of the crown, and the notorious decay of the internal vigour of the conſtitution." Purſuing this ſubject, his Lordſhip offered ſome ſuggeſtions on the propriety of a reform in parliament. He conſidered the boroughs as the rotten part of the conſtitution; but, like the infirmities of the natural body, they muſt be borne with patience: the limb was mortified, but amputation might be death. To infuſe new vigour, it would be neceſſary to augment the county and city repreſentatives, and extend the regulation to Scotland, to prevent the jealouſy which might ariſe from an apparent violation of the act of union. CHAP. XVII. 1770.

HAVING expatiated on this topic at much length, he mentioned with great ſatisfaction his cordial union with the Marquis of Rockingham, and wiſhed that an early day might be fixed for conſidering the ſtate of the nation. "My infirmities," he ſaid, "muſt, indeed, fall heavily upon me, if I do not then attend my duty. When I conſider my age and unhappy ſtate of health, I feel how little I am perſonally intereſted in the event of any political queſtion: but I look forward to others, and am determined, as far as my poor ability extends, to convey to thoſe who come after me, the bleſſing which I cannot long hope to enjoy."

THE diſcuſſion was fixed for the ſecond of February, but before that day the Duke of Grafton reſigned his ſituation of firſt lord of the treaſury; Lord North was appointed his ſucceſſor, and meaſures were taken to fill up the vacancies occaſioned by other reſignations. 28th Jan. Change of miniſtry.

SIR JOHN CUST'S ſtate of health having induced him to reſign the chair of the Houſe of Commons[c], Sir Fletcher Norton was called to that dignity; Lord 22d.

[c] Sir John Cuſt died on the day his ſucceſſor was elected.

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Halifax was appointed lord privy-ſeal, in lieu of the Earl of Briſtol, who became groom of the ſtole; Welbore Ellis was made one of the vice-treaſurers of Ireland, inſtead of James Grenville; Charles Fox was appointed a lord of the admiralty; and after ſome time, Mr. Thurlow was made ſolicitor-general, inſtead of Mr. Dunning; who, notwithſtanding his reſignation, had held the office till a ſucceſſor ſhould be nominated.

29th Jan. to 13th Feb.

15th March.

Debate in the Houſe of Commons on the ſtate of the nation.

THE principal object of the late debates in the Houſe of Lords, was to procure a deciſion favourable to the right of Mr. Wilkes to ſit in parliament as member for Middleſex. The ſame view influenced the oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons, where a committee on the ſtate of the nation was alſo formed, and a motion made by Mr. Dowdeſwell, "That in judging of elections, the Houſe ought to be regulated by the law of the land, and the known and eſtabliſhed law and cuſtom of parliament, which made a part thereof." This evident propoſition being announced as a prelude to a ſeries which would tend to redreſs the miſchiefs of the Middleſex election, the miniſtry were reduced to an unpleaſant dilemma. If they agreed to the motion, but rejected thoſe by which it was followed, they would ſeem to relinquiſh the concluſions drawn from premiſes which they had conceded: if, on the other hand, they overruled the motion, it would appear that the Houſe of Commons, not acknowledging themſelves bound by law and the uſage of parliament, formed a court of judicature guided only by caprice. Lord North dexterouſly avoided the ſnare, by moving as an amendment, "And that the judgment of the Houſe on the Middleſex election is conformable to law, and the uſage of parliament." After a ſtrenuous debate, the amendment was carried [d].

25th Jan.

31[illegible]. Subſequent motion of Mr. Dowdeſwell.

THE queſtion propoſed by Mr. Dowdeſwell, not having been rejected, he moved another reſolution,

[d] 224 to 182.

founded

founded on it: "That, by the law of the land, and the law and uſage of parliament, no perſon eligible of common right, can be incapacitated by a reſolution of the Houſe, but by an act of parliament only."

In the courſe of this debate, Colonel Barré, alluding to the power recently acquired by Lord North, compared the ſtate to a veſſel toſſed in a ſtormy ſea, which had juſt parted her main-maſt (the Duke of Grafton) and ſcudded under a jury-maſt (Lord North); they now, he ſaid, hung out ſignals for pilots from the other ſide of the houſe, but none would aſſiſt them till the old men and crew had quitted the the ſhip. In reply, Lord North acknowledged that ſtorms had almoſt overpowered the veſſel; but they came from the other ſide of the houſe, and thoſe alone who raiſed, knew how to lay them; yet the ſhip was not in ſuch diſtreſs as to hang out ſignals for pilots, thoſe on board being very capable of conducting her into port. He moved that the chairman ſhould leave the chair; which was carried.

2d Feb. Marquis of Rockingham's motion.

On the appointed day, the Marquis of Rockingham made his motion in the committee on the ſtate of the nation, in nearly the ſame words as thoſe uſed by Mr. Dowdeſwell.

Speech of Lord Sandwich.

The propoſition was combated in a long and able ſpeech by Lord Sandwich, who expreſſed ſurpriſe that the queſtion ſhould ever have been entertained, as it related only to a privilege of the Commons. He quoted caſes of the expulſion of the Earl of Middleſex, and of Lord Bacon, in which inſtances no alarm was created by the other branches of the legiſlature; they ſtood ſilent and undiſturbed, knowing their interference to be improper and unneceſſary. Adverting to the ſuppoſed prevalence of alarm, Lord Sandwich, though he had the higheſt opinion of the Marquis's veracity in other reſpects, thought him miſtaken in the aſſertions ſubſtantiating that fact: "I have been at ſome pains," he ſaid, "to examine accurately and impartially, into the real circumſtances

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of the alarm; and I have found it to be nothing more than a fiction, firſt ſet on foot by the daring and ambitious; and occaſionally ſupported by the deſperate, neceſſitous, and ignorant. But let us take the fact as repreſented: we are told that the majority of the people of England have petitioned for redreſs of grievances. Now the whole people of England are contained within forty counties; of which thirteen only have petitioned. It requires no deep calculation, no abſtract knowledge of numbers, to tell that thirteen is not quite one-third of forty, though it is roundly aſſerted, that the whole people of England have petitioned. If we will further ſuppoſe (which we may very impartially) that many who have ſigned petitions poſſeſs no freehold, but are led either by the general preſſure of poverty, the want of an immediate meal, or the hope of better eſtabliſhment; if we will, likewiſe, conſider what a number have been intimidated into it—I ſay intimidated, my lords; for we frequently find in the Gazettes menacing letters, directed to thoſe who had firmneſs of mind, and good ſenſe ſufficient to be guided by the own opinions—the number even in theſe thirteen counties will be ſo leſſened, as not to conſtitute in reality a twentieth part of His Majeſty's ſubjects. Let us then, my lords, be ſuperior to theſe falſe alarms—the feeble echoes of deſpondent ambition. Let us act like the real guardians of the nation; ſteady in ſupporting the privileges of the people, but not too forward to appear when no real danger preſſes." He concluded by obſerving, that if the Houſe of Commons were aggrieved by the intruſion of Colonel Luttrell, the means of redreſs were in their own power.

Lord Chatham.

Lord CHATHAM averred that the caſes cited were inapplicable, as by the expulſion of Lord Bacon and Lord Middleſex, no franchiſe was invaded, no freeholder deprived of his right. He attempted to obviate the deductions drawn from Lord Sandwich's calculations, by obſerving that many who individually felt all the rigour of parliamentary proceedings, were unable, for

want of a few principals, to convene them to make their complaints reach the Royal ear. Great intereſt had been made by government to ſuppreſs all petitions, and if to thoſe efforts were added the influence of placemen, it would be ſurpriſing that out of forty counties, thirteen had ſpirit and independence ſufficient to ſtem the tide of venality. Lord Chatham then declaimed againſt the conduct of the Houſe of Commons; denominated the vote which made Colonel Lutterell repreſentative of Middleſex, a groſs invaſion of the rights of election, a dangerous violation of the Engliſh conſtitution, a treacherous ſurrender of the invaluable privilege of a freehold, and a corrupt ſacrifice of their own honour. That Houſe had ſtripped the ſtatute book of its brighteſt ornaments, to gild the wings, not of prerogative, but of unprincipled faction, and lawleſs domination. To gratify the reſentments of ſome individuals, the laws had been deſpiſed, trampled on, and deſtroyed; thoſe laws which had been made by the ſtern virtue of their anceſtors, the iron barons of old, to whom the nation was indebted for all the bleſſings of the conſtitution; to whoſe virtue and whoſe blood, to whoſe ſpirit in the hour of conteſt, and to whoſe tenderneſs in the triumph of victory, the ſilken barons of this day owed their honours and their ſeats, and both Houſes of Parliament their continuance. Theſe meaſures made a part of that unhappy ſyſtem, which had been formed in the preſent reign, with a view to new-model the conſtitution, as well as the government. They originated, he would not ſay, with His Majeſty's knowledge, but in His Majeſty's councils. The Commons had ſlaviſhly obeyed the commands of His Majeſty's ſervants, and thereby proved, to the conviction of every man, what before might have been only a matter of ſuſpicion, that miniſters held a corrupt influence in Parliament; it was demonſtrable, it was indiſputable. It was therefore particularly neceſſary for the Lords, at this critical and alarming period, ſo

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full of jealouſy and apprehenſion, to ſtep forward, and oppoſe themſelves, on the one hand, to the juſtly incenſed, and perhaps ſpeedily intemperate rage of the people; and on the other, to the criminal and malignant conduct of His Majeſty's miniſters; that they might prevent licentiouſneſs on the one ſide, and depredation on the other. Their lordſhips were the conſtitutional barrier between the extremes of liberty and prerogative.

Inquiry terminated.

AT midnight, a motion for the ſpeaker to reſume the chair, in order to put an end to the diſcuſſion in the committee, was carried by a majority of more than two to one[c].

Motion of the Earl of Marchmont.

NOTWITHSTANDING the lateneſs of the hour, the Earl of Marchmont moved "That any reſolution of the Lords, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the Houſe of Commons, in a matter where their juriſdiction is competent, final and concluſive, would be a violation of the conſtitutional right of the Commons, tending to make a breach between the two Houſes of Parliament, and leading to general confuſion."

Obſervations of Lords Mansfield and Egmont.

THIS motion was ſupported by Lord Mansfield, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length; and by Lord Egmont, who declared the people had no right to preſent ſuch petitions as had lately been laid before the King, for they were treaſonable.

Lord Chatham.

LORD CHATHAM, after ironically thanking the noble Lord for permitting the petitioners to retain their heads a day longer, aſſerted that the petitions were laudable and conſtitutional, and the right to preſent them undoubted. The Houſe of Lords had a juriſdiction, and ought to interfere in caſe of an invaſion of the people's liberties, or an unconſtitutional determination of the Houſe of Commons; the caſe of the county of Middleſex fell under both thoſe denominations. He conjured their lordſhips,

[c] 96 to 47.

by the noble ſtruggles of their anceſtors in behalf of liberty, not to behold with indifference a tranſaction ſo alarming. In concluſion, he complained ſtrongly of the motion being ſudden, and made at midnight, and preſſed an adjournment for only two days. "If the conſtitution," he ſaid, "muſt be wounded, let it not receive its mortal ſtab at this dark and midnight hour."

Altercation reſpecting the official conduct of Lord Camden.

In the courſe of the debate a perſonal altercation aroſe between Lord Sandwich and Lord Camden, which throws conſiderable light on the conduct of the ex-chancellor while in office. Lord Sandwich accuſed him of duplicity, in permitting the proceedings againſt Mr. Wilkes to take place without remonſtrance, and of having refuſed to give an opinion reſpecting them. Lord Camden aſſerted, upon his honour, that long before Mr. Wilkes's expulſion, and alſo before the vote of incapacity, he informed the Duke of Grafton that he thought it both illegal and imprudent; he had always entertained, and frequently delivered that opinion. The Duke of Grafton admitted Lord Camden had, once before the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes, intimated but not in expreſs terms, that he thought the meaſure impolitic, or ill-timed; but that he had never given his opinion on the vote of incapacity: on the contrary, whenever that ſubject was agitated in the cabinet, he remained ſilent or retired; thus refuſing or declining to deliver his ſentiments. This aſſertion was corroborated by Lord Weymouth, who adverted expreſsly to one particular occaſion, when Lord Camden had withdrawn his advice and aſſiſtance from the council on the mere mention of expulſion and incapacity. The law-lord, although contradicted by the firſt witneſs he referred to, perſevered in aſſerting that he had repeatedly given his opinions on the inexpediency of the meaſures, but finding them rejected and deſpiſed, abſented himſelf from the cabinet, where his preſence would only diſtract meaſures

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already reſolved on, and which his ſingle voice could not prevent[f].

1770. He is defended by Lord Chatham.

LORD CHATHAM alſo averred, that in converſation with him, Lord Camden had declared his opinion on thoſe ſubjects, and ſupported it by cogent reaſons. The Houſe, tired of this futile converſation, at two o'clock called for the queſtion; which was carried in the affirmative. Proteſts were entered againſt both the deciſions, the firſt ſigned by forty-two, the laſt by forty peers[g].

Bill reſpecting expulſion. 5th Feb. to 11th May.

THE efforts of oppoſition on the popular topic of Wilkes's expulſion did not yet terminate. A motion was made for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the conſequences of expulſion from the houſe; it was read a firſt time, and afterward frequently diſcuſſed in a committee: but at length Mr. Herbert, the member with whom it originated, withdrew it from further notice.

Withdrawn.

Turbulence of the city.

THE members in oppoſition were encouraged and ſupported in their exertions by a correſponding turbulence which was generally prevalent in the city of London, particularly among the lower claſs. A ſtatement of their proceedings becomes neceſſary for the perfect underſtanding of the ſubſequent tranſactions in parliament. A memorial ſigned by ſix liverymen, was laid before the common-council, complaining that the petition preſented to the King the preceding year, had not been anſwered, and requeſting the convention of a common-hall, for the purpoſe of taking proper meaſures for the re-eſtabliſhment and ſecu-

1ſt March. Proceedings of the common-council.

[f] This diſcuſſion gave birth to a ſimilar one in the Houſe of Commons, in which it was inſiſted that the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes had been debated and determined in the council; and that the meaſure was therefore a mandate to the Lower Houſe, which was implicitly obeyed. Debates, February 5th.

[g] Theſe proteſts were printed in a newſpaper. Lord Gower, on the 7th of February, complained of a breach of privilege, and the printer was ordered to attend the Houſe, but abſconded. Lord Sandwich thereupon moved (10th. February) for an order to take him into cuſtody of the uſher of the black rod. The motion was carried, although oppoſed by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Temple. The printer either fled or kept himſelf concealed.—Debrett's Debates, vol. v. p. 1, 3.

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rity of their ancient rights and franchiſes. This memorial occaſioned great debates in the common-council: it was ſupported by the lord mayor and ſheriffs, and oppoſed by all the reſt of the aldermen; but ſuch was the prevalence of the ſentiments by which it was dictated, among the lower order of members, that the motion for calling a common-hall, to addreſs a remonſtrance to His Majeſty, was carried by a conſiderable majority [b].

6th. In the common-hall.

The common-hall was attended by nearly three thouſand of the livery. The lord mayor ſpoke in the popular ſtyle, of the violated freedom of election; of little, paltry, rotten boroughs; of the number of placemen and penſioners; and of the more equal repreſentation of the people. A prepared remonſtrance was then produced, analogous in its contents to the lord mayor's ſpeech, and proffered for ſignatures. It ſtated that, under a ſecret malign influence, which through each ſucceſſive adminiſtration had defeated every good and ſuggeſted every bad intention, the majority of the Houſe of Commons had deprived the people of their deareſt rights. "They have done a deed," it proceeded, "more ruinous in its conſequences than the levying of ſhip-money by Charles the Firſt, or the diſpenſing power aſſumed by James the Second. A deed which muſt vitiate all the future proceedings of this parliament; for the acts of the legiſlature itſelf can be no more valid without a legal Houſe of Commons, than without a legal prince on the throne. Repreſentatives of the people are eſſential to the making of laws; and there is a time when it is morally demonſtrable, that men ceaſe to be repreſentatives. That time is now arrived. The Houſe of Commons do not repreſent the people. We owe to Your Majeſty an obedience, under the reſtriction of the laws, for the calling and duration of parliaments; and Your Majeſty owes to

Remonſtrance to the King.

[b] 3 aldermen and 109 commoners, againſt 15 aldermen and 61 commoners.

us,

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us, that our repreſentation, free from the force of arms or corruption, ſhould be preſerved to us in them. Had the parliament under James II." the remonſtrance continued, "been as ſubmiſſive to his commands, as it is at this day to the dictates of a miniſter, inſtead of clamours for its meeting, the nation would have rung as now with outcries for its diſſolution. The forms of the conſtitution, like thoſe of religion, were not eſtabliſhed for the form's ſake, but for the ſubſtance. And we call God and man to witneſs, that as we do not owe our liberty to thoſe nice and ſubtle diſtinctions, which places and penſions, and lucrative employments have invented; ſo neither will we be cheated of it by them: but as it was gained by the ſtern virtue of our anceſtors, by the virtue of their deſcendants it ſhall be preſerved." After other obſervations of the ſame kind, it concluded with praying for a diſſolution of parliament, and the removal of the King's evil miniſters from his councils for ever.

Delivered to the King on the throne 14th Mar.

THIS arrogant paper was received by the livery with tranſports and ſhouts of applauſe, and ordered to be delivered to the King on the throne. As it was intitled an Addreſs, Remonſtrance, and Petition, ſome difficulties aroſe at St. James's reſpecting the mode in which it ſhould be preſented; but at length the King granted the required audience. The lord mayor, and a train of common-councilmen, liverymen, and city officers, amounting to upward of two hundred, were introduced: the common ſerjeant began to read the addreſs, but abaſhed and terrified in his progreſs by a due conſideration of the inſolence of its contents, was unable to proceed; the common clerk laboured [illegible] no ſuch difficulties, he took the paper and read it [illegible] an end. The King's anſwer was diſcreet, and ſpirited; he ſaid, "I ſhall always be ready to receive the requeſts, and liſten to the complaints of my ſubjects; but it gives me great concern to find that any of them ſhould have been ſo far miſled as to offer me

His anſwer.

an addreſs and remonſtrance, the contents of which I cannot but conſider as diſreſpectful to me, injurious to my parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the conſtitution. I have ever made the law of the land the rule of my conduct, eſteeming it my chief glory to reign over a free people: with this view I have always been careful, as well to execute faithfully the truſt repoſed in me, as to avoid even the appearance of invading any of thoſe powers which the conſtitution has placed in other hands. It is only by perſevering in ſuch a conduct, that I can either diſcharge my own duty, or ſecure to my ſubjects the free enjoyment of thoſe rights which my family were called to defend; and while I act upon theſe principles, I have a right to expect, and am confident I ſhall continue to receive, the ſteady and affectionate ſupport of my people."

Proceedings in parliament. 15th.

THE proceedings of the city did not paſs without animadverſion in parliament. The day after the preſentation of the remonſtrance, a motion was made in the Houſe of Commons for an addreſs to the King requeſting a copy of that paper, and the anſwer. The lord mayor, the ſheriffs Townſhend and Sawbridge, and Alderman Trecothick, being members of parliament, avowed the ſhare they had taken in the tranſaction, and declared themſelves ready to abide the conſequences. The addreſs was principally reſiſted on the ground of inexpediency, and the arguments on this head were ably and ingeniouſly urged by the Marquis of Granby, Mr. Burke, Mr. Wedderburne, and Mr. George Grenville. They were anſwered by General Conway, who averred that the dignity of of parliament required interference at all events: the right of the people to petition was undoubted, yet if ſuch petition contained treaſon, or other high offence, it certainly was puniſhable; and if not puniſhable in the common courts, yet in parliament indiſputably it was. The motion being carried[1], the papers were

[1] 221 to 108.

laid

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laid before the houſe, and Sir Thomas Clavering moved, "that to deny the legality of the preſent parliament, or to aſſert their acts to be invalid, was unwarrantable, tending to deſtroy the allegiance of the ſubject, by withdrawing him from obedience to the laws." A long and animated debate enſued, and at three o'clock in the morning the Houſe, on a diviſion, decided in the affirmative[k]. An addreſs was afterward carried, agreed to by the lords on a conference, and preſented to the King, who returned a moſt gracious anſwer.

1770. 19th Mar. The Houſe of Commons expreſs diſapprobation of the remonſtrance; and jointly with the lords addreſs the King. Remonſtrance of Weſtminſter, 28th. And Middleſex, 31ſt.

THESE proceedings were far from diminiſhing the ardour for perſecuting the ſovereign with petitions. The inhabitants of Weſtminſter preſented, under the ſame title, an addreſs ſimilar to that of the city of London; and their example was followed by the county of Middleſex, on the recommendation of the Reverend John Horne, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the popular ſide in the queſtions relative to the controverted election, and on other occaſions.

12th April. Wilkes diſcharged, 18th.

THE term of Mr. Wilkes's confinement being now expired, and his fines paid out of the public ſubſcription, he was diſcharged, on giving the required ſecurity. He publiſhed an addreſs to the freeholders of Middleſex, accuſing the miniſters of perſecution and injuſtice: and declaring his readineſs to die in the cauſe of liberty.

3ſt May. Lord Chatham's bill for reverſing the adjudication of the Commons reſpecting Wilkes.

ON the day that terminated the exiſtence of Mr. Herbert's bill, Lord Chatham brought in one for reverſing the adjudication of the Houſe of Commons in the caſe of John Wilkes. The motion for a ſecond reading was ſtrongly ſupported by Lord Temple, Lord Lyttelton, and the Duke of Richmond. Lord Chatham ſtated the fact of 1143 freeholders having voted for Wilkes, and only 296 for Colonel Luttrell; derided the new kind of ſtate

[k] 284 to 127.

arithmetic,

arithmetic, which made the ſmaller exceed the greater number, and ſaid it was flying in the face of all law and freedom, robbing the freeholders of their liberty, and making a mere farce of the birth-rights of Engliſhmen. "I am afraid," he concluded, "this meaſure has originated too near the palace: I am ſorry; but I hope His Majeſty will ſoon open his eyes, and ſee it in all its deformity." CHAP. XVII. 1770

LORD POMFRET called to order; but Lord Chatham refuſed to retract; he eſteemed the King in his perſonal and revered him in his political capacity; but hoped he would redreſs the exiſting grievances by diſſolving the Houſe of Commons.

LORD MANSFIELD cited many caſes where perſons had been expelled the Lower Houſe, without any attempt to interfere by the lords. He decried the argument drawn from the numbers on the poll, as a groſs miſtake. Mr. Wilkes, he ſaid, was conſidered as no body in the eye of the law, and conſequently Colonel Luttrell had no opponent. In all conteſted elections, the party complaining of illegal proceedings does not apply for redreſs to the electors, or to the people at large, but to the Houſe of Commons, who are the only judges, and from whoſe determination there is no appeal. The freeholder is merely to determine on his object, by giving his vote; the ultimate power lies with the Houſe of Commons, which judges of his being a legal repreſentative in the ſeveral branches of his qualifications. The people were already ſufficiently violent, but if the ſuperior branch of the legiſlature ſhould join them, the public encouragement of their proceedings would occaſion ſuch a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion, that he almoſt trembled at the thought. Oppoſed by Lord Mansfield.

LORD CAMDEN declared he had reſerved himſelf till that period, but would reply to Lord Mansfield, whoſe opinions were pregnant with unconſtitutional doctrines. He combated the arguments drawn from Supported by Lord Camden.

Mr.

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Mr. Wilkes's incapacity, aſſerting that the houſe, by refuſing to receive him as a member, acted in an arbitrary dictatorial manner, in defiance of law and precedent, againſt reaſon and juſtice: a ſecret influence had ſaid the word, "Mr. Wilkes ſhall not ſit;" and the fiat was to be obeyed, though it tore up the heartſtrings of the conſtitution. Having complimented Lord Mansfield on his expertneſs in referring to caſes; he ſaid, the queſtion ſhould be taken upon a more broad and general bottom, not as candidate againſt candidate, not as Mr. Wilkes oppoſed to Colonel Luttrell; but as the electors at large againſt the aſſumed power of the Houſe of Commons. In the caſe of ſhip-money, the people juſtly joined in the cry, and it ceaſed to be a queſtion between Mr. Hampden and the King, but the people of England againſt venal and oppreſſive miniſters. Repeating the words of Lord Chatham, he proceeded, "I will join my feeble efforts to the voice of the people; and the louder I hear them cry, the more I ſhall be pleaſed." The judgment on the Middleſex election had inflicted a more dangerous wound on the conſtitution, than any which were given during the twelve years abſence of parliament in the reign of Charles I. Should this bill be rejected, he truſted in the good ſenſe and ſpirit of the people, to renew their claims to a true and free repreſentation in parliament, as an inherent and inalienable right; and if, ſeſſion after ſeſſion, the ſame fatal influence ſhould continue, Engliſhmen would not forget this bill at the next general election; but make ſuch a compact with the elected, as to procure an equal repreſentation, and a full redreſs of the many difficulties under which they laboured.

Rejected. Proteſt.

On the rejection of the bill[1], a ſhort proteſt was ſigned by thirty-three peers; and Lord Chatham required that the houſe might be ſummoned for the

[1] 89 againſt 43.

fourth,

fourth, on a motion of great importance relative to the King.

1770. 4th May. Lord Chatham's motion on the King's answer to the remonstrance.

THIS request being complied with, his Lordship moved a resolution on the answer to the remonstrance of the city of London; affirming, that the advice by which the King had acted was of a most dangerous tendency, inasmuch as the clearest rights of the subject had been indiscriminately checked with reprimand; and the afflicted citizens had heard from the throne itself, that the contents of their humble address, remonstrance, and petition, could not but be considered by His Majesty as disrespectful to himself, injurious to his parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the constitution.

THIS answer, Lord Chatham said, was so harsh, that to equal it baffled his reading in the history of the country. The King's judgment or disposition would not have permitted such an answer; and poor as his opinion of the administration was, he could not suppose it to be a joint advice; if many were consulted, some one of them must have seen the absurdity. "For whoever they were, (I care not of what consequence) they were either fools or knaves: if the latter, they deserved the contempt of an injured people; if the former, they ought to have been sent to school before they were suffered to take the lead in public office." In the course of his speech, Lord Chatham offered unbounded adulation to the city, and said that Colonel Luttrell was no representative of the people, but a nominee, thrust in by foes to the laws of the land, and the established principles of the constitution.

Opposed by Lord Pomfret.

LORD POMFRET, in a short answer, observed, that the House had, of late, been almost entirely occupied by a popular nobleman on a popular topic, to the great hindrance of other business; but the Lords could not be expected, in the short space of six weeks, intirely to change their opinions; to condemn a measure they had then approved, and on which they

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they had, in an addreſs to the King, applauded the propriety of his anſwer.

It was the principal aim of the motion to extract from the miniſtry ſome defence or explanation, which might afford means of inflaming the diſcontents of the city; but in defiance of much abuſe and perſonality, they maintained a prudent ſilence, and the queſtion was loſt.

14th. His motion for a diſſolution of parliament.

Lord Chatham, not deterred by ill ſucceſs, moved for an addreſs to diſſolve the parliament. The Houſe, apprized of the object of theſe motions, deſtroyed the intended effect, by prohibiting the admiſſion of any perſons but members of the Houſe of Commons, and ſons of peers. The debates are not recorded, but the queſtion was negatived.

Mr Dowdeſwell's motion to diſqualify revenue officers. 12th Feb.

Several attempts were made in this ſeſſion to alter the laws reſpecting parliament, and the members of both houſes. Mr. Dowdeſwell, in a committee on the ſtate of the nation, moved to bring in a bill, diſqualifying certain officers of the exciſe and cuſtoms from voting at elections. The propoſition was chiefly ſupported by ſtatements of the increaſed number of revenue officers, and the danger accruing to liberty from their ſuffrages and influence. On the other ſide, it was obſerved, that as the principal officers were already diſqualified from ſitting, and all perſons in the exciſe, cuſtoms, or poſt-office, under ſevere penalties, injoined from intermeddling, by perſuaſion or diſſuaſion, in the election of repreſentatives, the propoſed bill was unneceſſary, and it would be an act of cruelty to deprive ſo many people of their franchiſe. The motion was loſt [m].

Law for annulling the protections.

An act paſſed for altering the law relating to privilege, ſo far as it extended to the effects and domeſtics of members of either houſe. Bills of this nature

[m] 26; to 188.

had

had been frequently brought into parliament, but were always conſidered as mere attempts to engage temporary popularity by affected ſelf-denial, and therefore rejected. When the preſent bill had paſſed the Commons, and was brought into the Houſe of Peers, it was warmly oppoſed by Lords Sandwich and Marchmont; but defended with great vigour by Lord Mansfield, who made a moſt able ſpeech. He demonſtrated from the beſt principles, that the privilege was not ſo valuable as was ſuppoſed, and from his experience in the court where he preſided, deprecated the rejection of a meaſure calculated to relieve the practice of the law from many impediments and embarraſſments. Being accuſed of patronizing the bill for the ſake of obtaining popularity, he made this animated anſwer: "If the noble Lord means by popularity the applauſe beſtowed by after-ages on good and virtuous actions, I have long been ſtruggling in that race; to what purpoſe all-trying time can alone determine: but if he means that muſhroom popularity which is raiſed without merit, and loſt without a crime, he is much miſtaken. I defy the noble Lord to point out a ſingle action in my life, where the popularity of the times ever had the ſmalleſt influence on my determinations. I thank God, I have a more permanent and ſteady rule for my conduct — the dictates of my own breaſt. Thoſe who have foregone that pleaſing adviſer, and given up their minds to the ſlavery of every popular impulſe, I ſincerely pity: I pity them ſtill more, if vanity leads them to miſtake the ſhouts of a mob for the trumpet of fame. Experience might inform them, that many who have been ſaluted with the huzzas of a crowd one day, have received their execrations the next: and many, who by the popularity of their times have been held up as ſpotleſs patriots, have, nevertheleſs, appeared on the hiſtorian's page, when truth has triumphed over deluſion, the aſſaſſins of liberty. Why then can the noble Lord think I am ambitious

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1770. granted by peers to their ſervants.

Excellent ſpeech of Lord Mansfield.

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of preſent popularity, that echo of folly, and ſhadow of renown?" The bill paſſed.

1770.

Mr. Grenville's bill for deciding petitions on controverted elections.

ANOTHER meaſure of ſtill greater importance was Mr. George Grenville's bill for regulating the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons on controverted elections. Since the famous Ayleſbury caſe, in 1704, the Houſe of Commons was conſidered as ſole judge of the qualifications of electors, and all other matters relating to the return of members*. However well founded the claim, the practice was attended with many inconveniences. At firſt, the conteſted caſes had been tried in a ſelect committee, conſiſting of ſome of the moſt learned members; but afterward the practice prevailed of hearing the petitioners by counſel at the bar. Petitions were frequently ſo numerous, as materially to impede public buſineſs; and ſubſtantial juſtice was ſeldom obtained. As the judges were not bound by an oath, or even promiſe upon honour, to reſiſt the impulſe of partiality, their ſuffrages were often biaſſed by party, or perſonal conſiderations. To remedy theſe evils, Mr. Grenville's bill provided that every caſe of conteſted election ſhould be referred to a committee of thirteen members, choſen by the ſitting member and the petitioner, from a liſt of forty-nine, the reſult of a ballot. Each party was empowered to nominate one perſon beſides thoſe thirteen, to ſit in the committee; which was authoriſed to ſend for perſons, papers, and records, and bound by oath to decide impartially. Such is the outline of this celebrated law. The different clauſes met with conſiderable oppoſition in the committee, and many were new modelled. On the third reading, a ſtrenuous debate took place; the rejection of the bill was moved by Mr. Welbore Ellis, and ſeconded by Mr. Fox; the effort was oppoſed by Dunning, Burke, Wedderburne, and Sir William Baggott, and failed, although ſupported by Lord North and ſeveral miniſterial members. In the Houſe

21ſt Mar.

30th.

9th April.

* Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. i. chap. 4. p. 20. 4to edit.

of

of Lords the bill paſſed with little animadverſion, and a panegyric from Lord Chatham [o]. CHAP. XVII.

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AN inquiry into the ſtate and expenditure of the civil liſt was one of the popular topics urged in both Houſes. Mr. Grenville moved for an account of thoſe expences for one year, ending the fifth of January. The late King, it was ſaid, left a ſaving of 170,000l, which came to the hands of His preſent Majeſty; beſides which, and his own revenue, he had received from parliament an aid of 513,000l.; the civil liſt expences had greatly increaſed in 1768, and it was inferred that the money was employed during the general election to the injury of the people. Inquiry into the civil liſt. 28th Feb.

THE motion was reſiſted on grounds of decency, convenience, and expediency; and rejected [p].

MR. DOWDESWELL afterward moved for certain accounts, relative to the King's debts in 1762, 1763, 1765, and 1766, and the amount of money in the exchequer at the late King's deceaſe. The motion was oppoſed by Lord North; but Mr. Dowdeſwell having, in the courſe of his ſpeech, reflected on the Earl of Bute, Lord Mountſtuart ſucceſsfully requeſted that the accounts might be granted, to clear his father's character. 12th Mar.

IN a committee on the ſtate of the nation, Mr. Dowdeſwell propoſed an addreſs, reciting the exceſs of expenditure, and requeſting the King to retrench 2d April.

[o] In a publication in 1789, of "Extra-official State Papers," by William Knox Eſq. late under-ſecretary of ſtate, vol. ii. p. 41, is the following account of part of a converſation, which the Editor of that work had with Mr. Grenville, at Wootton, upon the ſubject of Mr. Grenville's returning into office. "He told me, that he found his health and ſpirits very much declined; that he had given up all thoughts of office, and did not wiſh to take any active part in public buſineſs. And indeed, he continued, with a deep ſigh, and putting his hand upon his ſide, I am no longer capable of ſerving the public. *My health and ſpirits are gone. The only thing I have any intention of doing, is to endeavour to give ſome check to the abominable proſtitution of the Houſe of Commons in Elections, by voting for whoever has the ſupport of the miniſter, which muſt end in the ruin of public Liberty, if it be not checked.*" In purſuance of this reſolution, Mr. Grenville, on the 7th of March 1770, propoſed his plan in a moſt able and convincing ſpeech. The bill received the Royal aſſent upon the 12th of April 1770; and Mr. Grenville died on the 13th of November following; with the ſatisfaction of having completed one of the nobleſt works, for the honour of the Houſe of Commons, and the ſecurity of the conſtitution, that was ever deviſed by any miniſter or ſtateſman. Hatſell's precedents, vol. ii. p. 21.

[p] 262 to 165.

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his expences, and enforce on his ſervants the practice of economy, which would tend moſt to the honour and dignity of the crown, the ſatisfaction of his own royal mind, and the content of his people. Lord North, after ſhewing the impropriety, want of reſpect, and indecency of the addreſs, moved that the chairman ſhould leave the chair, and the committee (which had exiſted eight months without producing any good conſequence) be diſſolved. This motion was carried [q].

3d. 5th.

THE next day, Mr. Dowdeſwell ineffectually repeated his motion in the Houſe. Sir Edward Aſtley alſo demanded a liſt of penſions, which occaſioned a debate, but was refuſed [r].

16th. In the Upper Houſe.

SIMILAR attempts were made in the Upper Houſe: Lord Chatham, in moving for an inquiry into the ſtate and expenditure of the civil liſt, took the opportunity of vindicating himſelf againſt the charge frequently made, of granting numerous penſions. He produced a liſt, and after ſpeaking of ſeveral of the parties in terms of appropriate praiſe, mentioned Lord Camden, as one whoſe integrity had made him once more a poor and private man; he was diſmiſſed for his vote in favour of right of election in the people. Theſe intemperate words were taken down, but no conſequences enſued. The motion was negatived.

Petition from the American merchants.

THE affairs of America formed a leading object of parliamentary attention, and were debated with the uſual zeal and violence. A petition was preſented from the merchants of London trading to that continent, deſcribing the importance and advantages of the traffic in former times, its total ſuppreſſion by combinations in conſequence of the late tax-laws, and praying relief. Lord North having controverted ſeveral ſtatements in the petition, moved for leave to bring in a bill, abrogating all the duties except thoſe on tea. Governor Pownall, not ſatisfied with this

5th Mar. Repeal of duties, except tea.

[q] 208 to 75 [r] 164 to 108.

partial

partial repeal, propoſed, as an amendment, that it ſhould extend to all the duties, and ſupported his motion by a long ſpeech, replete with conſiderations of political expediency, and abſtract right.

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THE debate was conducted in an extraordinary manner, as ſeveral opinions were avowed, which did not accord either with the original motion, or the amendment. Mr. Grenville ſaid, he had acted ſyſtematically in impoſing the ſtamp duties, which he had reaſon to think could and would be paid. The ſucceeding miniſtry had alſo purſued a ſyſtem which then perhaps was the next beſt, that of repealing the act, replacing America in its priſtine condition, and, at the ſame time, preſerving the power of the Engliſh Parliament, by a law declaring the right of taxation. The next miniſters laid a tax diametrically repugnant to commercial principles, bringing in no money to the ſtate (the clear annual amount being under ſixteen thouſand pounds) and throwing America into a tenfold flame. Although he was of opinion the Americans ſhould be caſed, yet as the miniſtry had formed no ſyſtematic plan, he conſidered the intended partial repeal as futile, and the amendment inadequate. He did not think the firſt propoſal would be of any real ſervice, nor would he aſſiſt in forcing the miniſtry to adopt a meaſure which he thought very little better, and therefore ſhould not vote.

GENERAL CONWAY, Sir William Meredith, and Colonel Barré ſupported the amendment: while Lord Barrington and Mr. Welbore Ellis oppoſed both the motion and the amendment; they ſaw no probability that repealing the tax would quiet America, and therefore were deſirous of putting the act in execution abſolutely, and with the united powers of the nation. The amendment was rejected[r], and the act ultimately paſſed according to the miniſter's firſt propoſal. An ineffectual effort was afterwards made to repeal the duty on tea.

9th April.

[r] 204 to 142.

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ALDERMAN TRECOTHICK, who failed in this attempt, ſucceeded in obtaining papers relative to American affairs. Governor Pownall founded on them a motion for an addreſs, praying for the examination of the ſeveral powers and authorities contained in the commiſſions granted, and in the orders and inſtructions iſſued, to the provincial governors and commanders in chief; to the end that ſuch commiſſions, inſtructions, and orders, might be explained, corrected, and amended, where they claſhed or interfered with each other, or contained powers and authorities not warranted by law and the conſtitution. The governor ſupported his motion by a ſpeech of great length, in which he panegyrized the loyalty and good diſpoſitions of the coloniſts, and ſeverely blamed the conduct of Sir Francis Bernard. He was ſeconded by the lord-mayor, and a ſtrenuous debate enſued, which continued two days, and in which ſome recent tranſactions in America were vehemently diſcuſſed; but the motion was rejected [s].

26th. Motion for papers.

8th and 9th May. For examination of the inſtructions to governors.

IN the Houſe of Lords, the Duke of Richmond offered eighteen reſolutions, which, after ſome diſcuſſion, were diſpoſed of by a motion of adjournment; and, on the next day, the King terminated the ſeſſion.

18th May. Motions in the Lords.

19th. Prorogation.

[s] 197 to 79.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTEENTH:

1769—1770—1771.

View of America. — Effect of reviving the ſtatute of Henry VIII. — in Maſſachuſet's Bay. — Proceedings of the legiſlature. — Proceedings in other provinces. — Non-importation committees formed — Examination of the conduct of miniſtry. — Conduct of the people of Boſton towards the military. — Riot in Boſton. — Town-meeting. — Soldiers removed. — Efforts to inſpire revenge. — Trial, and acquittal of Captain Preſton and his ſoldiers. — General court removed to Cambridge. — Unpopularity of the non-importation agreement — which is renounced on the repeal of the duties. — Remonſtrance of the city of London to the King. — Behaviour of Beckford — approved by the city. — Addreſs on the birth of a princeſs. — Addreſs of the city to Lord Chatham. — Death of Beckford. — Combination of France and Spain. — Account of Falkland's Iſlands. — Expulſion of the Engliſh coloniſts by the Spaniards. — Information received in England. — Exertions of miniſtry. — Conduct of oppoſition — Weſtminſter meeting. — Debates in Parliament on the aggreſſion of Spain. — Progreſs of negotiation. — Unwillingneſs of France to engage in war. — Diſmiſſion of Choiſeul. — Conceſſion of Spain, and final adjuſtment. — Changes in the miniſtry — Diſagreement between the two Houſes of Parliament. — Arrangement with Spain approved. — Trials of certain printers for publiſhing Junius's Letters. — Diſcuſſion of Lord Mansfield's doctrine in caſes of libels — he leaves a written document with the clerk of the Houſe of Lords. — Diſfranchiſement of the electors of New Shoreham.

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View of America.

IN occupying themſelves about America, the Britiſh Parliament yielded only to the dictates of propriety and neceſſity: the ſituation of affairs claimed interference, but the meaſures adopted were not judicious or ſalutary. While the cauſe of American inſubordination was ſo vehemently defended by advocates of unparalleled courage, credit and ability, it could not be expected that the exertions of authority

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in reſtraining the turbulent, and reſtoring the reign of order, ſhould be attended with ſucceſs. Every effort of coercion was reſiſted as an illegal encroachment, while all conciliatory attempts were conſidered as the reſults of timidity, and pledges of victory to future oppoſition.

Effect of reviving the ſtatute of Henry VIII.

THE meaſure of the Grafton adminiſtration, which announced the revival of the obſolete ſtatute of Henry VIII. produced extenſive ill conſequences; the tyrannical ſpirit of that proceeding was ſo obvious, that in the provinces where the inhabitants were tranquil and loyal, it was felt as an invaſion of liberty, and the people were obliged to thoſe, in the other ſtates, who were willing to brave the ſtorm, and by a diſplay of courageous hoſtility ſecure freedom to all the colonies.

In Maſſachuſet's Bay.

IN Maſſachuſet's Bay, againſt which this meaſure was principally directed, and where the preſence of ſoldiers inſpired ſome little awe, a temporary conſternation enſued; the writers of ſeditious publications deſiſted for a few weeks, but ſpeedily reſumed their labours. The new aſſembly, convened in purſuance of the King's writ, adhering to the ſpirit of their predeceſſors, ſtated, in a meſſage to the governor, that they could not proceed with freedom while ſhips of war were in the harbour, and a military force in the town of Boſton, but the governor anſwered, he had no authority to remove either ſhips or troops. The aſſembly proceeded to the election of a council; carefully excluded every perſon attached to government, or who, by his talents and influence, had contributed to reſtrain or oppoſe the turbulent party: they then replied to the governor, that a military force aſſiſting in the execution of laws, was inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of a free conſtitution: the unwillingneſs of a people in general, that a law ſhould be executed, was ſtrong preſumption of its being unjuſt: it could not be the law of the people, as they muſt conſent to laws before they can, in conſcience, be obliged

31ſt May 1769. Proceedings of the legiſlature.

1769. 13th June.

obliged to obey. They voted charges againſt their governor for miſconduct, and a petition for his removal, which was tranſmitted to their agent to be laid before the privy-council; and paſſed a vote, declaratory of their right, as Britiſh ſubjects, to be tried for treaſon, felony, or any other crime, within the colony; that they might not be deprived of the benefit of a jury of the vicinage, or of the advantage of ſummoning and producing witneſſes. Governor Bernard prorogued the general court, and, during the receſs, returned to England[a].

1769. 27th June. 8th July.

THE example of the aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's Bay was followed in ſeveral other provinces; they paſſed ſevere ſtrictures on the conduct of adminiſtration, and entered into reſolutions declaratory of their rights in caſes of trials for treaſon; which, in ſome of the colonies, were expreſſed in terms ſo acrimonious that the aſſemblies were diſſolved. This meaſure, far from producing the intended effect, increaſed the ſpirit of diſaffection: the members of the legiſlative bodies returning to their homes, and mixing with the people, extended the influence of the opinions they had previouſly expreſſed and encouraged, and to which they had the credit of appearing as martyrs.

Proceedings in other provinces.

THE prevailing reſentment againſt the Britiſh government facilitated the operations of thoſe who were deſirous of diſtreſſing the mother-country by anti-commercial combinations. Committees were appointed in the ſeveral towns, whoſe duty it was to examine cargoes on their arrival from Great Britain, and report to their conſtituents in what manner the terms of aſſociation had been adhered to; votes of cenſure were paſſed on thoſe who infringed them, and their names were publiſhed as enemies to their country. Theſe

Non-importation committees formed.

[a] Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 226, to the end. Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War, vol i. p. 60, et ſeq. While in England Governor Bernard was tried (28th February 1770) at the cock-pit, on the articles preferred againſt him by the general aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's Bay, and acquitted. See Annual Regiſter, 1770, p. 76. Gentleman's Magazine, 1770, p. 139 and 265.

proceed-

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proceedings alarmed the merchants of London, and produced the application to Parliament which has already been mentioned.

Examination of the conduct of miniſtry.

LORD NORTH's facility in yielding to this application was an unfortunate meaſure. The aſſociations in America were always framed or ſanctioned by mercantile ſpeculators, who had large ſtocks of Britiſh goods in their poſſeſſion; but according to the ſtate of labour, and the difficulties of commerce which then prevailed, a perſeverance of two years would have reduced the Americans to the neceſſity of applying again with abject humility to Great Britain, or of living on the produce of their own ſoil, deprived of every luxury to which they had been accuſtomed: in a ſtate which would have reduced the moſt opulent of the aſſociators to envy the condition of a common mechanic, or day-labourer at home. If it was deſirable to the miniſter to coerce the Americans, they had furniſhed him with the means; for by taking advantage of their combinations, and iſſuing a prohibition againſt the exportation of drugs, and various other neceſſaries, except on terms of proper ſubmiſſion, their own miſeries would have produced ſuch diſſentions, and created ſuch a general abhorrence of the ſpirit of reſiſtance, that a long period muſt have elapſed before it could again have been exhibited with effect. If the miniſtry were afraid to purſue this bold courſe, they ought to have conciliated the coloniſts by a total repeal of the obnoxious law, and not have left the Americans, without a poſſibility of experiencing the leaſt inconvenience, in poſſeſſion of a plauſible ground of complaint.

Conduct of the people of Boſton towards the military.

AT the time when Lord North was preparing to reſtore, if poſſible, contentment to the coloniſts, they were again engaged in acts of outrage which demanded ſevere correction. While four regiments were quartered at Boſton, the inhabitants were kept in awe by their numbers, and maintained a ſullen tranquillity; but two being removed, they loſt all fear, and diſplayed

played their animoſity to government by inſults on the military, who were abuſed and vilified in the newſpapers, and every opportunity taken to degrade, and expoſe them to the hatred and contempt of the populace. The ſoldiers were neither by education, nor the habits acquired in the ſervice, diſpoſed to bear ſuch treatment with patience, and the peace was frequently diſturbed by contentions and affrays between them and the people. In this ſtate of mutual animoſity, each party imputed to the other views and deſigns which were probably never entertained. The Boſtonians were accuſed of a project to expel the military by force, and of having engaged a party from the country to aſſiſt in executing it[b]. The ſoldiers were charged with a ſyſtematic deſign to urge the people beyond their patience, that a moment of exceſs might furniſh a pretext for a general maſſacre and plunder[c]. Of the firſt of theſe accuſations no evidence has ever appeared; the latter refutes itſelf; as the military, if they had formed ſuch a deſign, would have executed it before they were weakened by the departure of half their force.

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THE quarrels of individuals, and ſmall parties, in proceſs of time produced a general ſentiment of rancour, which occaſioned a more important conteſt. A diſpute having ariſen between the ſoldiers and the rope-makers who worked in Boſton, and many circumſtances of irritation having occurred, meaſures were taken on both ſides for a general engagement. Unfortunately, all the diſputes between the townſmen and the ſoldiers were kept concealed from the officers: the military would not impeach themſelves, and the people maintained a lofty and ſupercilious reſerve, diſdaining to refer their grievances to the arbitrament of men whom they neither eſteemed nor reſpected. In conſequence of the previous diſpoſition of the parties, and the fury excited by recent tranſactions, a

Riot in Boſton. 2d March, 1770.

5th March.

[b] Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. p. 75.
[c] Narrative of the horrid maſſacre in Boſton, paſſim.

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ſerious riot was raiſed, the commencement and conduct of which are differently related, as prejudice or intereſt prevail, nor can any of the proceedings be recounted with the confidence ariſing from a clear and well-connected narrative.

It appears that an affray took place in the evening between two ſoldiers and a party of the lower order of people, upon which a mob was immediately raiſed. To increaſe the number of their partiſans, the Boſtonians broke into two meeting-houſes, and rang the alarm-bells, which were the general ſignals of fire: they alſo ran about the ſtreets calling on the people to leave their habitations and defend themſelves. By theſe means an immenſe and exaſperated multitude was collected. Captain Preſton, the commanding officer on duty, who knew nothing of the late tranſactions, and conſidered the alarm to be really, as it was apparently, excited by fire, received information of the commotion with ſurpriſe. He repaired to the main-guard, and ſeeing the crowd flock toward the cuſtom-houſe, and hearing the threats of the populace, became apprehenſive of ſome attempt to obtain poſſeſſion of the cheſt containing the King's money; he was alſo informed that the people had expreſſed a reſolution to murder the centinel. He ſummoned to his aid, a non-commiſſioned officer and twelve privates; and, in order to prevent violence, accompanied the party himſelf. The mob, who were obliged, by the united efforts of the guards, to keep a certain diſtance, tried by abuſive epithets and defiance, and by throwing ſtones and ſnowballs, to irritate the military to a forgetfulneſs of their duty. Captain Preſton parleyed, and attempted to convince the people from the manner in which the men were drawn up, the poſition in whch they held their arms, and the ſituation in which he himſelf ſtood, that no intention could be entertained of firing. While he was thus engaged, one of the mob ſtruck a ſoldier with a cudgel; the man, irritated at this inſult, immediately fired. The Captain

Captain turning to reprimand him for firing without orders, received a violent blow on the arm with a club. Some perſons from behind gave the word, "fire;" but the confuſion was ſo great, that no one diſtinctly knew from whom it proceeded. Captain Preſton repeatedly ordered the men not to fire, but about ten pieces were diſcharged. The word could not have been clearly underſtood, nor could it have been given by the officer, ſince the men in their previous poſition ſtood with bayonets fixed, and their arms half-cocked; there are ſeveral intermediate words of command which an officer could not have omitted: beſide, had the word been given by the officer, the whole diviſion would have fired at once; whereas from every account it appears, that, after the man who had been ſtruck, two fired, then three, and then five. The reſult was, that four perſons were killed, and ſix or ſeven wounded: the populace fled with precipitation, but ſhortly returned to carry off their friends: the military, apprehenſive of a new attack, were again preparing to fire, but Captain Preſton prevented them by throwing up their pieces with his hand. The whole affair was a ſcene of hurry and confuſion, occupying about twenty minutes. The populace continued in a ſtate of inſurrection: they beat a drum about the ſtreets, calling "to arms;" ſeveral officers, who on a ſimilar call to arms, were haſtening to join their comrades, were beaten, knocked down, and wounded, and every appearance indicated an intention of further hoſtility. Lieutenant Governor Hutchinſon, and Colonel Carr, at length interfered, and the ſoldiers being ordered to their barracks, the people were induced to retire to their houſes. CHAP. XVIII. 1770.

THE next day, a meeting of the inhabitants of Boſton was held at the town-hall, when, after ſome warm ſpeeches, they choſe a committee of fifteen to wait on the lieutenant-governor with a meſſage, requeſting him, as the only poſſible means of preventing further carnage, 6th March. Town-meeting.

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carnage, to remove the troops. He replied, that without orders from the general, who was at New York, the commanding officers could not remove the military; but promiſed that meaſures ſhould be adopted for keeping them in ſituations where no future inconvenience could ariſe. This anſwer was declared to be not ſatisfactory, and a freſh committee of ſeven appointed to wait on the lieutenant-governor, with a meſſage to that effect. Mr. Hutchinſon immediately made application to the council, who voted, without heſitation or oppoſition, that it was eſſentially neceſſary for the good of His Majeſty's ſervice to remove the ſoldiers from the town. Colonel Dalrymple, the commanding officer, gave his word that he would comply, and they were accordingly removed to Caſtle William, the military duty at the town-houſe and town-priſon being performed by the militia.

Soldiers removed.

Efforts to inſpire revenge.

EVERY advantage was taken of this circumſtance to inflame the public mind. At the funeral of thoſe who had been killed, a general proceſſion was made through the town; the ſhops were ſhut, and flags exhibited with emblematical devices and inſcriptions, calculated to inſpire revenge.

Indictment.

A CHARGE of murder was preferred againſt Captain Preſton and the ſoldiers acting under him, who immediately ſurrendered themſelves into cuſtody. Great efforts were uſed to procure depoſitions in corroboration of this accuſation, and it is probable, had the trial been immediately proceeded in, ſuch was the popular fury, that they would have been ſacrificed. The proceedings were, however, deferred for ſome months, and, in the mean time, the news of the partial repeal of the tax act had reſtored a certain degree of calm. The trial was nevertheleſs conducted with great warmth, and continued ſix days. Upward of fifty witneſſes were examined, and the counſel on both ſides exerted great ability. Captain Preſton was honourably acquitted: as were all the other parties,

Trial and acquittal of the military.

ties, except two, who were found guilty of manſlaughter [d]. CHAP. XVIII.

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THE lieutenant-governor, after the departure of the troops, proceeded to hold the general court of the province; but juſtly apprehenſive of the influence which their ſitting generally produced among the people, he removed them to the town of Cambridge. Irritated at this proceeding, and conſcious of the motive, the council and aſſembly, although the lieutenant-governor's ſpeech pointed out ſeveral important topics of conſideration, refuſed to enter on any buſineſs unleſs the governor would convene them at Boſton, the uſual place. 13th May. General court removed to Cambridge.

THE patriots who compoſed this general court were, in fact, reduced to great difficulties. The ſelf-denial impoſed by the non-importation agreement had become extremely irkſome in ſeveral of the provinces. Newport, in Rhode Iſland, relinquiſhed the confederacy, and New York meditated a ſimilar proceeding; Portſmouth, the capital of New Hampſhire, had never acceded to the meaſure, and the ſuperior comforts enjoyed by the inhabitants of theſe places were little diminiſhed by the anathemas of Boſton, where trade was on the decline, and where the merchants envied, while they decried, the effects of a mode of conduct different from their own. While the public mind was in this ſtate the law arrived for the repeal of duties: the aſſociators gladly ſeizing this opportunity of making an advantageous compromiſe between their pride and their neceſſities, conſented to renew their trade with Great Britain, in every article except tea, and orders of more than uſual extent were tranſmitted to the mother-country [e]. Unpopularity of the non-importation agreement; which is renounced on the repeal of duties.

THE conteſt of the City of London with the court was carried on with unabated acrimony and audacity. Remonſtrance of the city of London. 23d May.

[d] Taken from Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War, vol. i. p. 75; Narrative of the horrid Maſſacre at Boſton, printed by order of the town, and reprinted by Dilly and Almon; account of the riot; caſe of Thomas Preſton, and account of his trial, inſerted in the Annual Regiſter, 1770, p. 211.

[e] Stedman, vol. i. p. 77.

Before

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Before the riſing of parliament a common council was held for the purpoſe of framing another remonſtrance to the King, in conſequence of his anſwer to the former, a meaſure ſtrongly ſupported by Mr. Beckford, and voted by a great majority [f]. The paper was carried to St. James's by the lord-mayor, and a ſuitable train of attendants: it expreſſed the deep concern of the city at the awful ſentence of cenſure lately paſſed upon it, from the throne; and after recapitulating the grievances complained of in former addreſſes, concluded with a prayer to heaven, that His Majeſty might reign, as kings only can reign, in and by the hearts of a loyal, dutiful, and free people.

The King's anſwer.

THE King ſaid, He ſhould have been wanting to the public, as well as to himſelf, if he had not expreſſed

Beckford's reply.

diſſatisfaction at the late addreſs. The lord-mayor, after obtaining permiſſion to reply, begged leave to declare on behalf of his fellow citizens, how much the bare apprehenſion of His Majeſty's diſpleaſure would, at all times, affect their minds; the declaration of it had filled them with inexpreſſible anxiety, and the deepeſt affliction. He ſupplicated the King not to diſmiſs them from his preſence without ſome comfort, and proſpect at leaſt of redreſs. No anſwer being returned, the lord-mayor and his ſuite withdrew [g].

22d May. 28th.

THE birth of a princeſs furniſhed another occaſion for the city to diſplay their zeal in giving offence

[f] 7 Aldermen, 105 commoners, to 8 aldermen, 57 commoners.

[g] View of the Hiſtory of Great Britain during the adminiſtration of Lord North, p. 19.—The recorder of London, Sir James Eyre, afterward chief-juſtice of the common pleas, declined attending with this addreſs; his conduct gave offence, and was (27th Sept.) made a ſubject of inveſtigation before the common-council. In his defence, he alledged that his conſcience would not ſuffer him to be preſent at the delivery of, much leſs to read, an addreſs and remonſtrance couched in ſuch harſh terms; it appeared to him an indignity to the ſovereign and the parliament. This apology was ſo little ſatisfactory, that on a ſubſequent day (12th Oct.) a vote paſſed by a large majority, that he ſhould be no more adviſed with, retained, or employed in the affairs of the corporation, being unworthy of their future truſt and confidence. The violence and injuſtice of this vote were abundantly compenſated by the eſteem and veneration in which the object of it was held during twenty-ſeven years, the remainder of his life, and by the public regret at the loſs of a learned, upright, and intelligent judge.

to

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to the King. A court of common-council being held at Guildhall, the conduct of the lord mayor on the late occaſion was, after ſome diſcuſſion, highly approved. Mr. Wilkes, who had lately, in defiance of decency, and not without ſome doubts in point of law, been made an alderman, bore a principal ſhare in this debate. He vindicated Mr. Beckford; and alledged as a reaſon for not attending at court on the 23d, that from the eagerneſs of miniſtry to murder the people, he was convinced if he had gone to St. James's, and only a few boys had ſhouted, it would have been a pretence for another maſſacre. On the motion for an addreſs of congratulation, he obſerved, this did not ſeem a time for compliments; the citizens of London had been treated of late with great indignity; their petitions were received with contempt, their remonſtrance with inſult; it ſeemed to be the only ſtudy of adminiſtration to affront the city, and provoke the people, as inſtances of which he adduced the favours conferred on relations of Lord Holland and Lord Barrington, and on Governor Bernard, who had been made a baronet, and received a penſion, merely becauſe he was a tyrant, and univerſally deteſted by our brethren in America. For theſe reaſons, he obſerved, the addreſs ought to be very chaſte, modeſt, and reſerved, and confined to what he hoped would ever be a ſubject of real joy to Engliſhmen, an increaſe of the Brunſwick line [h].

Beckford's conduct approved.

Addreſs on the birth of a princeſs.

An addreſs was framed in ſtrict conformity with this advice, and carried up by the lord mayor and ſeveral aldermen: the populace did not omit this opportunity to manifeſt their hatred of thoſe who were attached to the court. The lord mayor and three aldermen had no ſooner paſſed through Temple-bar, than the gates were ſuddenly ſhut againſt Alderman Harley: the mob pelted him with ſtones and dirt, pulled him out of his carriage, obliged him to take refuge for the preſervation of his

Alderman Harley inſulted.

[h] Gentleman's Magazine, 1770, p. 273.

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life, and when he afterwards proceeded in a hackney-coach, followed him to St. James's with freſh inſults and renewed injuries. Having committed this outrage, they allowed the city marſhal to open the gates, and ſuffered the reſt of the proceſſion to paſs unmoleſted. To protect the King from the repetition of inſult, the lord chamberlain informed the lord mayor of His Majeſty's deſire that no reply might again be made to him: the lord mayor demanded a copy of this meſſage in writing, which was refuſed; and after ſome altercation the addreſs was delivered and anſwered.

1ſt June. Addreſs of the city to Lord Chatham.

FAR different was the manner in which an addreſs was voted and preſented to Lord Chatham, who was thanked for his zeal in ſupport of the right of election and petition, and for his promiſe to uſe his endeavours that parliaments might be reſtored to their original purity, by ſhortening the period of their continuance, and introducing a more full and equal repreſentation. To this compliment Lord Chatham returned a manly and dignified anſwer; he applauded the city for their perſeverance in defending their rights, but informed them ſome miſapprehenſion had prevailed with reſpect to his opinions on the duration of parliaments; for he was bound to declare he could not recommend triennial parliaments. He had expreſſed his earneſt wiſh for a more full and equal repreſentation; but had thrown out that idea with the juſt diffidence of a private man, when he preſumes to ſuggeſt any thing new on a high matter. The remainder of his ſpeech contained expreſſions of civility appropriate to the addreſs.

His anſwer.

21ſt June. Death of Beckford.

SOON after this tranſaction, Mr. Beckford died, and his death materially affected the ſtate of parties in the city. His influence and fortune enabled him to reſtrain the diverſities of opinion which prevailed among the heads of oppoſition, and unite them in a compact, conſiſtent body; he was ſucceeded by

19th

Alderman

Alderman Trecothick, who being a ſtrenuous ſupporter of the ſame meaſures no difference was immediately perceptible. CHAP. XVIII. 1770.

SINCE the concluſion of the peace, continual efforts had been uſed to convince the people that they were reduced to a moſt ignominious ſituation and unreſpected among the powers of Europe: Great Britain was repreſented as being without an ally, and daily threatened with the renewal of hoſtilities. Lord Chatham, it is ſaid, predicted, toward the cloſe of the late ſeſſion, that a great blow either was or would ſoon be ſtruck in ſome part of the world[1]. This aſſertion was founded on truth, and clearly ſhews Lord Chatham's extenſive information, or his political ſagacity; but if his intelligence was preciſe he greatly exaggerated the importance of an exploit, which, though the reſult of a profound combination, was in itſelf of very little conſequence, namely, the expulſion of the Engliſh from Falkland's Iſlands by a Spaniſh force. Prediction of Lord Chatham.

THE ſole end of the family compact was to reduce the power of Great Britain; and although the campaign of 1762 compelled France and Spain to accede to a diſadvantageous peace, Choiſeul and Grimaldi, the miniſters of thoſe countries, reſolved to attack Great Britain, whenever a favourable opportunity ſhould occur. The preſent moment ſeemed to afford the deſired criſis, as the navy under the adminiſtration of Lord Hawke, was left in a neglected ſtate, and utterly unfit to protect the diſtant poſſeſſions of the country againſt the united efforts of two ſuch powerful enemies. It was therefore agreed, that France and Spain ſhould at the ſame time aſſail the Britiſh poſſeſſions in diſtant quarters of the globe; but the pacific diſpoſition of Louis XV. ariſing from love of eaſe and voluptuouſneſs, and the declining influence of M. de Choiſeul, prevented that miniſter from carrying his Combination of France and Spain.

[1] Hiſtory of Lord North's adminiſtration, p. 21.

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part of the project into execution, although he entertained hopes, when hoſtilities ſhould be commenced, of inducing the King to take up arms in ſupport of his ally [k].

Account of Falkland's Iſlands.

SPAIN began by forcibly expelling the Engliſh from Falkland's Iſlands, a poſſeſſion which, in conſequence of this diſpute, was elevated to a degree of notice never before beſtowed, and which it has not retained. The *Iſles Malouines*, called by the Engliſh Falkland's Iſlands, were conſidered of ſo little importance, that their firſt diſcovery and original name are not clearly aſcertained. They have been ſucceſſively claimed by and received appellations from the Engliſh, Dutch, and French. Captain Davis, a companion of Cavendiſh, in 1592, is reputed the earlieſt diſcoverer; but he did not even aſſign them a name. Two years afterward they were deſcried by Sir Richard Hawkins, who in honour of Queen Elizabeth and himſelf, called them Hawkins's Maiden Land. In 1598, two Dutch navigators, Verhagen and Sebald de Wert, called them Sebald's Iſlands. They then, for more than a century, remained unnoticed to ſuch a degree that doubts were entertained of their exiſtence; but a voyage being made into that region in 1689 by Strong, whoſe journal is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, he is ſuppoſed to have diſtinguiſhed them by the appellation of Falkland's Iſlands; the name was adopted by Halley, and from that time inſerted in the Engliſh maps. The privateers who viſited thoſe ſeas in the reigns of William and Anne alſo ſaw theſe iſlands, but were deterred by their dreary appearance from making particular obſervations. Strong affirmed there was no wood, and Dampier ſuſpected they had no water. A Frenchman named Frezier, alſo noticed, and called them Les Malouines [l].

HITHERTO changes of name, unattended with events, improvements, or poſſeſſion, were the only

[k] From private information.

[l] Derived from St. Malo.

circum-

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circumſtances which authenticated the exiſtence of Falkland's Iſlands; but after Lord Anſon's return from his celebrated expedition, commenced in 1740, they attracted ſome attention. The narrator of the voyage, anxious to convince the public that the high opinion entertained of Lord Anſon, was not merely founded on the capture of the Acapulco ſhip, deſcanted among other topics, on the national advantage of ſecuring a ſettlement in Pepy's and Falkland's Iſlands, affirming it to be eſſentially neceſſary for future operations againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in Chili, as it would produce many benefits in peace, and in war render the Engliſh maſters of the South Sea.

THE credit and influence of Lord Anſon enabled him to procure, in 1748, the equipment of a ſquadron for the purpoſe of obtaining a fuller knowledge of Pepy's and Falkland's Iſlands, and for making further diſcoveries in the South Sea; but General Wall, ambaſſador from Spain, making repeated remonſtrances, the project was finally abandoned, although the right to purſue it at a ſubſequent period was not explicitly renounced.

Settlement made by the French;

THE magnificent advantages promiſed in the account of Anſon's voyage, and the anxious deſire entertained by the French to obtain an equivalent for the ceded dominion of Canada, induced M. de Bougainville, in Auguſt 1763, to fit out two veſſels, for the expreſs purpoſe of making diſcoveries, and effecting an eſtabliſhment in the Malouines. In 1764, he took poſſeſſion in the name of the King of France[n], but afterward was diſpatched to Madrid, and not only relinquiſhed the ſettlement in favour of Spain, but accompanied a Spaniſh governor to an iſland which then received the name of Port Soladad.

but ceded to Spain.

MEANWHILE the Admiralty of England prepared another expedition under Captain Byron, who ſailed

[m] See Smollett's continuation of Hume, vol. iii. p. 41. 141.

[n] See Hiſtory of a Voyage to the Malouine or Falkland's Iſlands, particularly p. 218, of the Engliſh tranſlation in 4to 1773.

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Settlement by England.

in May 1764, and on the 23d January 1765, took poſſeſſion of one of the iſlands, in the name of the King of Great Britain. On his return, a narrative of the voyage was publiſhed, in which the ſettlement was deſcribed as an object of the utmoſt importance; the iſland was ſaid to be ſix or ſeven hundred miles in circumference, with a ſpacious and a ſecure harbour, which, in honour of the firſt lord of the Admiralty, was named Port Egmont; it was well adapted for the growth of wood; provided with excellent water; abounding in vegetables and wild fowl, and ſuppoſed to contain iron, and perhaps more valuable ores.

INFLUENCED by this deſcription, the Britiſh government, early in 1766, ſent Captain Mac Bride to Port Egmont, where he erected a ſmall block-houſe, and ſtationed a garriſon. But his report did not verify the hopes derived from Captain Byron's account; he found a maſs of iſlands, and broken lands, the ſoil of which was a mere bog, and ſubject to perpetual ſtorms, which in winter rendered the communication with ſhore extremely difficult and precarious. Sea-lions and penguins, animals of no worth, were abundant; but there were no means of providing ſuſtenance in winter, and ſummer promiſed nothing more than a few geeſe and ſnipes, and a crop of wild celery and ſorrel. Nor did the ſoil yield to the efforts of cultivation; a garden was prepared, but the plants withered; and even firs, the hardy produce of the bleakeſt regions, could not reſiſt the climate of the Falkland's Iſlands, but periſhed like weaker herbage [o].

THE garriſon continued in this ſituation, deriving annually, at a great and unprofitable expence, their ſupplies from England, unprovided againſt an aſſault,

[o] This account is taken principally from Dr. Johnſon's Thoughts on the late Tranſactions reſpecting Falkland's Iſlands. Reference has alſo been had to Bougainville's and Byron's Voyages, and Penroſe's Account of the laſt Expedition to Falkland's Iſlands in 1772.

which,

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which, from the nature of their tenure, they did not expect, when a Spaniſh ſchooner, from port Soladad, was obſerved hovering about the iſland. Captain Hunt of the Tamer immediately warned the Spaniſh commander to depart from the coaſt, as belonging to the King of Great Britain, an order which met with inſtant compliance.

28th Nov. 1769. Arrival of a Spaniſh ſchooner.

In two days the ſchooner returned, with a Spaniſh officer on board, and letters from Don Philip Ruiz Puénta, governor of port Soladad, expreſſed in terms of civility. The governor affecting to be unacquainted with the formation of an Engliſh ſettlement, and to conſider the preſence of Captain Hunt as accidental, declared his aſtoniſhment at the interruption of the ſchooner's voyage, and ſuggeſted that the conduct of the pilot muſt have been irregular: for he was perſuaded that an officer commanding a ſhip of war belonging to ſo civilized a nation, could not be ſo deficient in the reſpect due to the Spaniſh flag in the King of Spain's dominions.

30th. Remonſtrance of the Spaniards.

In anſwer, Captain Hunt aſſerted, that the iſlands belonged to His Britannic Majeſty, both by diſcovery and ſettlement, and warned the Spaniards to quit them within ſix months. The Spaniſh officer ſent from Soladad proteſted againſt the pretenſions and conduct of Captain Hunt, who muſt be reſponſible for the ill conſequences likely to enſue; the cauſes of proteſt were Captain Hunt's threatening to fire, if the Spaniard attempted to execute his commiſſion, and oppoſing his approach to the colony; and it was declared that Captain Hunt's entering Soladad harbour, though in an amicable manner, would be deemed an inſult. Other letters, anſwers, and proteſts, enſued in the courſe of the ſucceeding month, but were productive of no further conſequences.

1770. 20th Feb Arrival of two Spaniſh frigates.

At length, two Spaniſh frigates, of conſiderable force, with troops on board for Port Soladad, arrived at Port Egmont. The commander Don Fernando de Rubalcava, wrote a letter to Captain Hunt, expreſſing

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ing great ſurprize at finding a kind of ſettlement under the Britiſh flag: claimed the dominion as the right of his maſter, the King of Spain, and accuſed the Britiſh commander of having violated the terms of the laſt peace; but he would abſtain from all other proceedings till he had acquainted His Catholic Majeſty with this diſagreeable affair. Captain Hunt again aſſerted the King's right to the territory, but behaved with polite attention to the Spaniſh commander, and aſſiſted him to procure a ſupply of water, a want of which he had alledged as a motive for touching at Port Egmont.

Captain Hunt ſails for England.

THE ſituation of affairs was now become ſo critical, that Captain Hunt thought it adviſable to return to England; and left Captain Maltby in the Favourite, of ſixteen guns, chief in command: the Swift, alſo a ſloop of ſixteen guns, which, with the Favourite, conſtituted the whole naval force left after Captain Hunt's departure, was unfortunately overſet in the ſtraits of Magellan; three of the crew were drowned, and the reſt, with the utmoſt difficulty, ſaved.

4th June, Arrival and proceedings of a Spaniſh armament. 7th.

SHORTLY after this event, a Spaniſh frigate put into Port Egmont, under pretence that ſhe had been fifty-three days from Buenos Ayres, going to Port Soladad, and was diſtreſſed for water. In a few days, the remainder of the force arrived; and it then appeared that they had been at ſea but twenty-ſix days, having ſailed for the expreſs purpoſe of expelling the Engliſh from Port Egmont. For this exploit they had on board upward of ſixteen hundred men, a hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon belonging to the ſhips, and a train of artillery, and other materials, ſufficient for the inveſtment of a regular fortification; while the Engliſh force, on ſhore, conſiſted only of four pieces of cannon, unfit for ſervice, and a wooden blockhouſe. A Spaniſh broad pendant was immediately hoiſted; Captain Farmer ordered the men, who had belonged to the Swift, to come on ſhore for the defence of the ſettlement; and Captain Maltby,

Maltby, intending to bring the Favourite nearer into the cove, was hailed by the Spaniſh commander, who threatened immediately to fire into him if he weighed anchor. Captain Maltby, notwithſtanding this menace, ſtood out to ſea; two ſhots were fired, which fell to leeward; and three of the Spaniſh frigates, in imitation of the Engliſh commander, quitted the harbour. Captain Maltby ſent an officer to the Spaniſh admiral, to know why he had fired, and received for anſwer that the ſhot were merely meant as ſignals. CHAP. XVIII. 1770.

CAPTAIN FARMER now diſpatched a meſſage, requiring the frigates, as they had obtained refreſhments, to leave the iſland without delay. The Spaniſh commander, John Ignacio Madariaga, wrote the ſame day to both the commanders, adviſing them to conſider the immenſe ſuperiority of his force, and the harmony reigning between their reſpective ſovereigns, and to quit the port immediately, otherwiſe he would be compelled, though reluctantly, to uſe hoſtilities. The enſuing day he wrote another letter to the ſame effect, demanding a categorical anſwer in fifteen minutes. In reply, Captain Maltby inſiſted on the right of continuing; proteſted againſt the Spaniards who obliged him to retire by means of their ſuperior force, and announced his reſolution to maintain the honour of the Britiſh flag. Madariaga returned that it was not then proper, nor was it his buſineſs, to diſcuſs queſtions of right; but he ſhould do what he thought juſt, ſubmitting to the Britiſh and Spaniſh courts the deciſion of propriety; and deſired the captains to ſend an officer who might view his force, and convince them of the inutility of reſiſtance.

IN the night, Captain Maltby landed fifty of the Favourite's men, with two ſix-pounders, ten ſwivels, ſmall arms and ammunition; the next morning, the Spaniards diſembarked part of their troops to the northward. Having advanced half way to the block-houſe, the reſt of their boats, with the remainder of their

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The Engliſh expelled.

their troops, and artillery, rowed into the cove, covered by the fire of the frigates. The Engliſh fired a few ſhot, but finding reſiſtance ineffectual, hoiſted a flag of truce, and deſired articles of capitulation. The terms were in themſelves ſufficiently haughty; an immediate ſurrender and evacuation of the iſland; and this unconditional ſubmiſſion was rendered more irkſome by a ſtipulation, that the Britiſh forces ſhould not depart for twenty days. To enforce ſubmiſſion, the Favourite's rudder was taken off and carried on ſhore. The obvious intent of this proceeding was to allow ample time for a Spaniſh veſſel to reach Europe with intelligence before any could be received in England, and the harſhneſs of the meaſure is not palliated by the forbearance of Madariaga, in not ſeizing the few unimportant effects poſſeſſed by the Engliſh [p].

3d June. Arrival of Captain Hunt in England.

MEANWHILE Captain Hunt arrived at Plymouth, and informed the admiralty that the iſland had been claimed by the governor of Port Soladad; but this act being conſidered as the effect of a ſplenetic quarrel, the intelligence excited no ſenſation. Mr. Harris, the Britiſh chargé des affaires, who was left at Madrid, on the departure of Sir James Gray in Auguſt 1769, next gave notice to Lord Weymouth of the

23d Aug. Intelligence received from the Britiſh chargé des affaires in Spain;

arrival of a veſſel from Buenos Ayres, which brought intelligence that an armament, fitted out in May from that ſettlement, intended to diſlodge the Engliſh from Port Egmont: their ſucceſs, however, was conſidered extremely precarious. The fact was, at length, rendered indubitable by the voluntary declaration of Prince Maſerano, the Spaniſh ambaſſador in London, who announced to Lord Weymouth, that Don Franciſco Buccarelli, the Spaniſh governor of Buenos Ayres, had taken on himſelf to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh of Port Egmont; and Captain Maltby, arriving

12th Sept. and from the Spaniſh ambaſſador in London.

[p] Johnſon's Pamphlet; Papers publiſhed by Authority; Debrett's Debates, vol. i.

ſhortly

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ſhortly afterward, tranſmitted from the Motherbank an account of the late events, ſupported by the proper documents.

Obſervations.

UNDOUBTEDLY the circumſtances of the caſe would have juſtified immediate hoſtilities; but, conſidering the internal affairs of England, it was more prudent to omit no means of arranging the diſpute by amicable negotiation. The people were fired at the indignity offered to the Britiſh flag, by a nation whom they conſidered as the moſt feeble of opponents, and whoſe immenſe wealth they, in idea, fondly graſped as an inevitable and eaſy prey. There is no principle ſo juſt as not to be perverted by the adoption of exaggerated notions, and on that account popular reaſonings are more frequently deluſive, when founded on ſome undeniable axiom. A ſtateſman cannot regulate his conduct in conformity to all the deductions made by the public, from incontrovertible data, but muſt in every inſtance, be guided by peculiar features of the individual tranſaction, not making himſelf the ſlave of a ſyſtem which may often fail in its application to caſes apparently parallel. In the preſent affair, the conduct of adminiſtration could hardly afford general ſatisfaction: if the miniſtry adopted a pacific courſe, the injured honour of the nation, the facility of revenge, and the certainty of a glorious conteſt, would form themes of inexhauſtible declamation; if, on the other hand, they yielded to the popular ardour, and engaged in hoſtilities, however juſtifiable, the unimportant object in diſpute, the neceſſity of allowing the ſuffering country a longer period to recruit after its late exhauſting conflict, together with the common-place topics by which war is deprecated and peace recommended, would have been inceſſantly enforced, and placed in all the various forms which party ability could ſupply.

Conduct of the miniſtry.

THE miniſtry had the misfortune to experience the difficulties and diſcredit attached to both theſe modes of conduct, without receiving the approbation due to either.

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either. On the receipt of intelligence from Prince Maſerano, orders were iſſued from the Admiralty for preparing guardſhips; and when the Favourite arrived, bounties to ſeamen were offered by royal proclamation; ſhips were put into commiſſion, and the uſual meaſures adopted for making a formidable and efficacious naval preparation. But, however agreeable theſe exertions might be to the temper of the nation, and however ſerious the criſis, the arts of oppoſition were earneſtly and inceſſantly employed in rendering the efforts of government vain and abortive.

13th Sept.

22d.

Oppoſition.

THE ſailors, generally anxious to offer their ſervices in a war againſt Spain, were now led to believe they had ſuffered injuſtice by the diſtribution of the Havannah prize money, in the preceding war, and evaded by all poſſible means the call of the country[q]. They were taught to adopt the prevailing faſhion, and attended the King with a petition, wherein they cited acts of parliament, and reaſoned profoundly on the impropriety and illegality of recruiting the navy by means of preſs-warrants[r]. The lords of the Admiralty applied to the lord mayor of London requiring him to ſanction theſe authorities, but he refuſed to do it on their application, alleging that it was not cuſtomary, unleſs the requeſt came from the privy-council. And although afterward the warrants were properly backed by the chief magiſtrate[s], the execution of them was impeded by the ſpirit of faction, and Mr. Wilkes liberated a man who was impreſſed in the city.

26th Oct.

Weſtminſter meeting.

THIS was not the only inſtance in which Mr. Wilkes ſhewed his inclination to impede the operations of government, and increaſe the ferment of the public mind. A meeting of the members of two political tavern clubs was convened for the purpoſe of diſcuſſ-

30th.

[q] Hiſtory of Lord North's adminiſtration, p. 25.

[r] See Gentleman's Magazine, 1770, p. 401.

[s] Trecothick was expoſed to great cenſure for this act, and at the expiration of his mayoralty obliged to explain and apologize to the livery for his conduct.

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ing the propriety of giving inſtructions to the members for Weſtminſter to impeach Lord North. On this occaſion the diſſentions among the city demagogues, which had been reſtrained during the life of Alderman Beckford, diſplayed themſelves in public contention. Sir Robert Bernard was in the chair; the inſtructions for impeachment were ſupported by Mr. Wilkes, and combated by Alderman Sawbridge, who recommended a remonſtrance; but the opinion of Mr. Wilkes prevailed. The next day a large concourſe of people aſſembled at Weſtminſter-hall, to hear the propoſal diſcuſſed, but the reſolution of the preceding day was over-ruled, and the remonſtrance voted. Although Wilkes and Sawbridge diſagreed in the meaſure they propoſed, they ſeemed to entertain principles perfectly congenial, and their efforts formed a ſtruggle for pre-eminence in vulgar and licentious railing againſt the King and his miniſters. Mr. Wilkes oppoſed the remonſtrance, "becauſe it would only ſerve to make a paper kite for the Prince of Wales;" and Sawbridge reſiſted the impeachment, "becauſe Lord North, by his influence over the biſhops and Scotch peers in the Upper, and over the placemen in the Lower Houſe, would be infallibly acquitted, and the people precluded from any further complaint." The remonſtrance required, among other abſurdities, "that His Majeſty would for ever remove from his preſence and councils all his miniſters and ſecretaries of ſtate, particularly Lord Manſfield; and not admit a Scotchman into the adminiſtration[t]."

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31ſt.

Soon after this ridiculous and indecorous tranſaction the ſeſſion of parliament commenced. The King informed the Houſes that by an act of the governor of Buenos Ayres, in ſeizing by force one of his poſſeſſions, the honour of the crown, and ſecurity of

13th Nov. Meeting of parliament.

[t] See Wilkes's Account of the proceedings at the late meeting of the electors of Weſtminſter, Gentleman's Magazine, 1770, p. 519, 538; Annual Regiſter, 1770, p. 160.

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the people's rights, were deeply affected. He then ſtated the meaſures hitherto purſued, and called on parliament for advice and aſſiſtance. The addreſs in the Houſe of Lords was carried without debate; in the Houſe of Commons an oppoſition was made, but no amendment moved. The miniſter was blamed for making Buccarelli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, the object of complaint, inſtead of the King of Spain, when it muſt be obvious that the conduct of the governor was ſanctioned by the monarch. Lord North anſwered, that as the intrinſic value of Falkland's Iſlands could not be deemed a ſufficient cauſe of war, negotiation would be more proper, and therefore it was prudent to allow the King of Spain to avow, or diſavow, as he thought proper, the act of the governor.

Debate on the addreſs.

Motions for papers, 22d Nov.

THIS was not the only animadverſion occaſioned by the Spaniſh diſpute. A motion was made in each Houſe on the ſame day, for an addreſs, praying the King to give directions, "that all papers received by the miniſtry, between the 12th of September 1769, and the 12th of September 1770, touching hoſtilities, commenced or deſigned to be commenced by the crown of Spain, or any of its officers, ſhould be laid before parliament." The motion in the Lords was made by the Duke of Richmond, who entered hiſtorically into the tranſaction, and averred that the hoſtile intentions of the Spaniards were not limited to the claim of Falkland's Iſlands, as appeared by their preventing the departure of the garriſon and ſhip's crew immediately after the capture of the place; and he aſſerted that no leſs than three thouſand Britiſh ſeamen were then priſoners in ports belonging to Spain, having been taken out of merchants ſhips by guarda-coſtas, and condemned to perpetual ſlavery, or confinement. In anſwer Lord Hillſborough contended, that the production of the papers would embarraſs a negotiation already in a proſperous train; declanted on the delicacy and punctilioufneſs of

Spaniſh honour, and inſiſted that miniſtry had conducted themſelves with prudence, vigour, and vigilance. CHAP. XVIII. 1770.

LORD CHATHAM ridiculed the manner in which mention had been made of Spaniſh honour, and aſſerted the Engliſh to be a candid, ingenuous people, while the Spaniards were no leſs mean and crafty than they were proud and inſolent. He objected to negotiation, and treated the ſuppoſed diſavowal by the court of Spain of their governor's act, as an abſolute falſehood. When the French took poſſeſſion of Tortuga, the miniſter at the head of the treaſury did not negotiate: he ſent for the French ambaſſador, made a peremptory demand; a courier was diſpatched to Paris, and returned in a few days, with orders for inſtant reſtitution, not only of the iſland, but of all effects belonging to the Engliſh. The preſent negotiation might produce a temporary arrangement, but the country would in ſix months be involved in a Spaniſh war. He diſclaimed the imputation of being inclined to hurry the kingdom, at all events, into hoſtilities; he was deſirous of peace, but let it be honourable, let it be ſecure: a patched-up peace would not ſatisfy the nation, though it might be approved in parliament. He then entered into a long ſtatement, proving that the naval ſervice had been egregiouſly neglected; indicated the maritime exertions, which, in time of war, would be requiſite; and aſſerted that in more than two months, miniſtry had not raiſed above eight thouſand ſeamen: they boaſted of having put forty ſhips of the line into commiſſion, but to his certain knowledge forty thouſand men would be neceſſary to equip ſuch an armament, with its attendant frigates[u]. The Spa-

[u] In this part of his ſpeech Lord Chatham expreſſed his ſentiments at length on the ſubject of impreſſing ſeamen, and as they merit conſideration, the following extract is given. "The ſubject on which I am ſpeaking ſeems to call upon me, and I willingly take this occaſion, to declare my opinion upon the queſtion, on which much wicked pains have been employed to diſturb the minds of the people,

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Spaniards, he declared, had in Ferrol a fleet completely manned and ready to ſail, which Great Britain was in no condition to meet. We could not ſend out eleven ſail perfectly equipped; and if the Houſe of Bourbon were to make a wiſe and vigorous uſe of their actual advantage, in a month we muſt be no longer a nation. After many deſultory remarks on the general ſtate affairs, protracted to a conſiderable length, he concluded in theſe words, "The miniſtry are now balancing between a war which they ought to have foreſeen, but for which they have made no proviſion, and an ignominious compromiſe. Let me warn them of their danger: if they are forced into a war, they ſtand it at the hazard of their heads; if, by a compromiſe, they ſhould ſtain the honour of the crown, or ſacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to their conſciences, and conſider whether they will be able to walk the ſtreets in ſafety."

SEVERAL other peers ſpoke on the queſtion; and Lord Sandwich, with conſiderable effect, retorted on oppoſition the charge of diſagreement in opinions, which had been alleged againſt the miniſtry; they diſagreed, he obſerved, at York meeting, and at Weſtminſter, and in that Houſe he could trace diſ-

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people, and to diſtreſs government. My opinion may not be very popular; neither am I running the race of popularity. I am myſelf clearly convinced, and I believe every man who knows any thing of the Engliſh navy will acknowledge, that, without impreſſing, it is impoſſible to equip a reſpectable fleet within the time in which ſuch armaments are uſually wanted. If this fact be admitted, and if the neceſſity of arming on a ſudden emergency ſhould appear incontrovertible, what ſhall we think of thoſe men who, in a moment of danger, would ſtop the great defence of their country? Upon whatever principle they may act, the act itſelf is more than faction; it is labouring to cut off the right hand of the community. I wholly condemn their conduct, and am ready to ſupport any motion that may be made for bringing thoſe aldermen, who have endeavoured to ſtop the execution of the admiralty warrants, to the bar of this Houſe. My Lords, I do not reſt my opinion merely on neceſſity. I am ſatisfied that the power of impreſſing is founded on uninterrupted uſage; it is the *conſuetudo regni*, and part of the common law prerogative of the crown. When I condemn the proceedings of ſome perſons on this occaſion, let me do juſtice to a man whoſe character and conduct have been infamouſly traduced, I mean the late lord-mayor, Mr. Trecothick. In the midſt of reproach and clamour, he had firmneſs to perſevere in doing his duty. I do not know in office a more upright magiſtrate; nor, in private life, a worthier man."

cordant ſentiments among them, through the whole chain of oppoſition, down to Wilkes and Eldrige. The previous queſtion was loudly called for, and rejected by a large majority[w]. The debate in the Houſe of Commons, though long, animated, and ſuſtained by good ſpeakers on both ſides, did not, as far as can be judged from the publiſhed reports, embrace any novelty of argumentation, or diſcloſe any new fact. It was terminated by a vote againſt the previous queſtion[x].

Progreſs of negotiation.

One motive with the oppoſition for preſſing ſo ſtrongly the queſtion relative to this unimportant capture, appears to have been the train in which the negotiations were proceeding. The tendency of general opinion to the period of the receſs, was that war was inevitable, and the minority were anxious to obtain from the miniſtry ſome explicit declaration, ſome unequivocal pledge, that ſhould bind them in the conduct of hoſtilities, and retard if not prevent the poſſibility of peace. It has been already ſtated, that before the arrival of Captain Hunt in England, 10th Sep. with an account of his expulſion from Falkland's Iſlands, a letter was received by Lord Weymouth from Mr. Harris, apprizing him of the intended expedition; and about the ſame time Lord Weymouth was informed by Prince Maſerano, that he had reaſon to believe the governor of Buenos Ayres had taken upon himſelf to make uſe of force in expelling the Engliſh from Port Egmont. Maſerano ſaid he was directed to make this communication to prevent the conſequences which might ariſe from its being diſcloſed through another channel, and expreſſed his wiſhes that it might not be productive of meaſures dangerous to the good underſtanding between the two courts. Lord Weymouth anſwered, if the ex-

[w] 65 to 21.

[x] Carried by 225, againſt 101. The reader muſt obſerve the difficulty of judging correctly of the debate on any public queſtion at this period, as the documents are extremely ſlender, and the reporters fhamefully partial.

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pulſion had already taken place, he did not think the fatal conſequences could be avoided; the King's inſtructions to the Britiſh officer, commanding at Port Egmont were, to warn the ſubjects of other powers from thoſe ſhores; but if they would not depart to make a joint ſettlement with them, and refer the queſtion of right to be diſcuſſed in Europe. He inquired whether Grimaldi had inſtructions to diſavow the conduct of Buccarelli. On receiving an anſwer in the negative, Lord Weymouth applied for further inſtructions, and then demanded a diſavowal of the proceedings at Port Egmont, and alſo that the affairs of the ſettlement ſhould be reſtored to their 12th Sep. priſtine ſtate. He alſo wrote immediately to Mr. Harris, ſtating theſe circumſtances, and requiring him to wait on the Spaniſh miniſter, and enforce a compliance with thoſe demands, as the only means of ſuſpending the preparations then making in England. Mr. Harris, afterward Earl of Malmſbury, who was then a very young man, began his diplomatic career with this delicate tranſaction, which he 15th. managed with great ſagacity and addreſs. He waited on M. Grimaldi, and, in very proper language, delivered the complaints and demands which he was authorized to make. The anſwer was vague and unſatisfactory: Grimaldi aſſerted, the Engliſh had reaſon to foreſee the event, as their eſtabliſhment was known to be diſapproved by Spain; he teſtified concern at the tranſaction, and ſaid he had diſpatched a veſſel from Corunna to prevent it, but unfortunately too late; ſtill he could not blame the conduct of Buccarelli, as it was founded on the laws of America. He declared Spain to be deſirous of peace, as ſhe had much to loſe and little to gain by war. Mr. Harris having reduced his demands to writing, the Spaniſh miniſter promiſed to lay them before the King: the deſire of peace was declared to be reciprocal, but Grimaldi was tenacious of his maſter's honour, while Mr. Harris inſiſted on a compliance with

with the terms of his requiſition, as the only mode of doing juſtice, and ſatisfying the honour of Great Britain. Two days afterward Mr. Harris was informed by the miniſter, that as the affair could only be arranged in London, Prince Maſerano was directed to lay before Lord Weymouth "the ſeveral ideas," on this ſubject, truſting ſome of them would be adopted. CHAP. XVIII. 1770.

INSTRUCTIONS were tranſmitted to Prince Maſerano, to propoſe a convention, in which Spain ſhould diſavow any particular orders given to Buccarelli, and at the ſame time admit that the governor had acted agreeably to general inſtructions, and to his oath. Maſerano was alſo empowered to ſtipulate the reſtitution of Falkland's Iſlands, without prejudice to His Catholic Majeſty's rights, and to require the King of England to diſavow the menace of Captain Hunt. When this propoſition was made, Lord Weymouth, conſidering it extremely remote from affording ſatisfaction for the injury complained of, anſwered with great ſpirit, that when the King's moderation condeſcended to require the court of Madrid to diſavow the proceedings of the governor of Buenos Ayres, and reſtore things preciſely to that ſituation in which they ſtood before the raſh and unwarrantable undertaking of the governor, as the ſmalleſt reparation for the injury that could be accepted, nothing remained for diſcuſſion, except the mode of carrying the diſavowal and reſtitution into execution. He declared His Majeſty's firm adherence to his firſt demand, and the total inadmiſſibility of the propoſed convention; the King, who had received an injury, required the moſt moderate reparation which his honour would permit him to accept, but that reparation would loſe its value if conditional, and to be obtained by any ſtipulation. Maſerano declared he had no power to proceed, except by convention, and muſt apply for further inſtructions. Lord Weymouth wrote to Mr. Harris, Oct. 11th to 17th.

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deſiring him to ſee Grimaldi, and requeſt an anſwer from the King of Spain.

1770. 28th Oct.

SUCH was the poſition of the affair at the meeting of Parliament. Mr. Harris waited ſeveral times on Grimaldi, without obtaining a ſatisfactory anſwer; and at length was informed, that a diſpatch was ſent to Prince Maſerano, empowering him to renew the treaty. The impreſſion made on Mr. Harris's mind by this diſpatch, which Grimaldi read to him, was, that the Spaniſh court appeared ready to agree to every thing required; the refuſal to diſavow the menace of Captain Hunt conſtituted the only difficulty[y].

6th Nov.

BUT the conduct of Maſerano did not juſtify theſe expectations[z]; and as little hope was entertained of a ſatisfactory adjuſtment, it was judged expedient to warn the Britiſh merchants at Cadiz, Alicant, and in other parts of Spain, of their danger, and to order all officers belonging to the garriſon of Gibraltar, to repair immediately to their poſt. After the receſs, war was deemed inevitable, and Mr. Harris was ordered by the Britiſh government to withdraw from Madrid, though not without taking the uſual leave.

21ſt Dec. Mr. Harris ordered to leave Spain.

Unwillingneſs of France to make war.

To this period Grimaldi acted conſiſtently with the plan ſettled between him and De Choiſeul, and if the French miniſter had been able to carry into effect the projects he recommended, hoſtilities would have been commenced without delay: but the French King, who had already experienced great difficulties in obtaining the ſums requiſite for the ſupport of his dignity, and the purſuit of his pleaſures, could not be induced to augment his inconveniences by entering into a war. The turbulence manifeſted by his ſubjects, on many occaſions, formed a ſtrong motive with him for avoiding a meaſure,

[y] The diſpatch containing this information was received the 19th of November, only three days before the Duke of Richmond's motion.

[z] See Lord Weymouth's Letters, 23d and 28th Nov.

which,

which, by increaſing their burthens, would give additional force to their diſſatisfaction. CHAP. XVIII. 1770.

THE King of Spain having held a grand council, at which an ultimate propoſition was decided on, ſent an account of its reſult to the King of France, inviting his co-operation, ſhould war be inevitable. But the party who acted in conjunction with Madame du Barry, and who depended on her influence over the King for the promotion of their views, now acquired a ſufficient aſcendency to procure the diſmiſſion of the Duc de Choiſeul, and thus deſtroyed every hope which the King of Spain entertained of deriving aſſiſtance from France [a].

IN conſequence of information imparted by Maſerano of his having freſh propoſals to make, Mr. Harris received orders to return to the court of Madrid, inveſted with the authorities of miniſter-plenipotentiary; and in a ſhort time it was finally agreed, that Spain ſhould reſtore to the King of Great Britain the poſſeſſion of the Great Malouine, or Falkland's Iſland, in the ſame ſituation it was at the time when the garriſon was expelled; but this reſtitution was not to affect any claim of right which his Catholic Majeſty might have to the ſovereignty of that territory. The King of Spain in this declaration explicitly diſavowed the violent enterprize of Buccarelli [b]. 18th Jan. 1771. Conceſſion of Spain, 22d.

DURING

[a] From private information.

[b] See Journals, and Debates for the papers referred to the narrative; and ſee Johnſon's Pamphlet, and the Annual Regiſter for 1771. This unexpected termination of the diſpute gave riſe to various ſpeculations. The reſignation of Lord Weymouth occaſioned a report that he was diſſatisfied with the want of vigour which prevailed in the cabinet, and reſigned becauſe the miniſtry would not comply with his ſuggeſtions, which tended to an immediate declaration of war: but this is abſolutely unfounded, for the firſt meaſure of Lord Rochford was to recal Mr. Harris. It is alſo averred that a private extra-official negotiation was conducted between the cabinets of London and Verſailles, and terms of accommodation treated of by means of a French agent; but this aſſertion is alſo erroneous. See Governor Pownal's ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons, 13th February 1771. The iſland was in conſequence of this arrangement ſurrendered in the moſt honourable manner to the Britiſh forces (16th Sept. 1771); but as the nature and value of the poſſeſſion were now thoroughly underſtood, it was in leſs than two years completely evacuated, (22d April 1773.) This circumſtance has led to an inſinuation

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Changes in the miniſtry.

During this negotiation ſeveral changes took place, by which the miniſtry acquired additional ſtrength. Lord Weymouth reſigned the ſeals, which were given to Lord Rochford. Sir Edward Hawke quitting his place of firſt lord of the Admiralty, was ſucceeded by the Earl of Sandwich; the Earl of Halifax, taking the office of ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department, which became vacant by this removal, reſigned his place of lord privy-ſeal to the Earl of Suffolk. Mr. Bathurſt was created Baron Apſley, and appointed lord-chancellor; Sir William de Grey was made chief juſtice of the Common Pleas; Mr. Thurlow attorney-general, and Mr. Wedderburne ſolicitor-general and cofferer to the Queen. Several members of both Houſes, who were perſonally attached to the late Mr. Grenville[c] and had been violent in oppoſition, now alſo joined the miniſterial ſtandard.

12th Jan. 1771.

22d.

23d.

Diſpute between the two Houſes.

10th Dec. 1770.

An incident which occurred before the receſs occaſioned an animoſity between the two Houſes, which continued during the remainder of the ſeſſion. The Duke of Mancheſter made a motion for an addreſs for accelerating the preparations for war, and putting the Weſt India poſſeſſions, and Gibraltar, in a proper ſtate of defence. He was proceeding to deſcant on the inſecure condition of that fortreſs, and reflecting on the criminal negligence of miniſters, when he was ſuddenly interrupted, and a motion made to clear the Houſe. The reaſons for this meaſure were founded on the impropriety of ſuffering a propoſition of which no previous notice had been given, to be

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inſinuation that the abandonment of the poſſeſſion was ſtipulated by ſecret articles, but this was not the fact; the Britiſh forces left their flag flying and large ſheets of lead fixed up, with engraved inſcriptions, proclaiming to all nations that Falkland's Iſlands, with the ſtore-houſes and all their appurtenances, were the ſole right and property of the King of Great Britain. It is indeed true, that the intention of retaining this unimportant poſſeſſion was renounced by Great Britain, and the Spaniſh miniſter was ſo apprized pending the negotiation. But there was no ſecret article on the ſubject; nor was the place ever ſurrendered to Spain.

[c] He died 13th November 1770.

diſcuſſed

diſcuſſed in the preſence of ſtrangers, when the objects of it were ſuch as to diſcloſe the nakedneſs and weakneſs of the nation. Lord Chatham and the Duke of Richmond reſiſted; but a violent clamour of "clear the Houſe," prevented them from obtaining a hearing. Being highly irritated, they, with their friends, in number about eighteen, retired in a body, alleging the folly and idleneſs of attending there, when they were denied the privilege of lords of parliament, and not permitted the exerciſe of free debate. Immediately afterward ſeveral members of the Lower Houſe, who attended with a bill, were ordered to depart. In vain they repreſented that the performance of their duty obliged them to remain; they were compelled to retire till their meſſage was delivered, then re-admitted with their bill, and as ſoon as that ceremony was performed, ordered again to withdraw. Inflamed with indignation, they returned to their own Houſe, and made an angry repreſentation of the tranſaction; the ſeceding lords were preſent, hearing the debates, and the firſt effort of reſentment in the Commons, was inconſiderately directed againſt them. The ſtanding order was read, 11th Dec. and though the ſuggeſtion was oppoſed by a majority, they were obliged to quit the Houſe. Sixteen peers entered a proteſt on the journals, and ſeveral ineffectual motions were made in the Lower Houſe to procure an enquiry and diſcuſſion; but the only reſult was a ſullen hoſtility between the two Houſes. The Lords gave ſtrict orders that no ſtrangers ſhould for the future be admitted, except commoners who attended to preſent bills, and they were to depart when they had made the uſual obeiſance. The Commons, in the courſe of the ſeſſion, abated the rigour of excluſion, but the Lords remained inflexible [d].

[d] Debates, Journals, Annual Regiſter, 1771. p. 37. The debates were carried on with ſo much acrimony, and gave riſe to ſuch perſonal reflections, as to occaſion a duel between Lord George Germaine and Governor Johnſtone, in which Lord George was ſlightly wounded in the hand.

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THE negotiation reſpecting Falkland's Iſlands was adjuſted only a few hours before the meeting of parliament, after the receſs. Lord North informed the Houſe of the event, and on a ſubſequent day laid before them Maſerano's declaration, and Lord Rochford's acceptance. The oppoſition ſtrenuouſly diſapproved of the termination of the diſpute, aſſigning to the miniſters and their friends, every fault and impropriety of conduct which could be alleged in ſuch a tranſaction. Among other things it was averred, that the nation was not only expoſed to contempt abroad, but left a prey to jobbers and ſharpers at home. "A French ſecretary," Colonel Barré obſerved to the miniſtry, "being in your ſecrets, has made near half a million of money by gambling in your funds; and ſome of the higheſt among yourſelves have been deeply concerned in the ſame ſcandalous traffic." A motion was made and carried in both Houſes for an addreſs to the King, requeſting the communication of papers for elucidating the tranſaction; and the production of theſe documents occaſioned ſeveral diſcuſſions. The Duke of Newcaſtle moved for an addreſs of approbation, which was carried after a vehement conteſt; and a proteſt, conſiſting of eleven articles, ſigned by eighteen peers, and one ſigned by Lord Radnor ſingly; were entered on the journals.

22d Jan. 1771. Debate on the termination of the Spaniſh conteſt. 25th. 14th Feb. 13th Feb. 5th Mar.

THE debates were no leſs ſtrenuouſly maintained in the Commons; the motion of thanks occaſioned a very animated diſcuſſion, but the queſtion was at length carried [e]. A motion, introduced by a long ſpeech, was afterward made by Governor Pownall, to cenſure miniſtry for not having demanded an explanation of the oath of office, taken by the Spaniſh governors in America, in virtue of which the conduct of Buccarelli was juſtified; but it was overruled [f].

[e] 271 to 157. [f] 130 to 43.

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THE popularity of Junius's Letters induced ſeveral bookſellers, proprietors of periodical works, to republiſh them. Mr. Woodfall was tried for printing in the Public Advertiſer one of theſe letters which was deemed a libel, and Mr. Almon was tried for republiſhing the ſame letter in a monthly miſcellany, called the London Muſeum. Almon's caſe came firſt under inveſtigation, and the jury found him *guilty of publiſhing*. The verdict againſt Woodfall was, *guilty of printing and publiſhing only*. Almon's counſel moved for a new trial, on the ground of the evidence being inſufficient to prove any *criminal intention*, or even any *knowledge* of the London Muſeum being ſold at his ſhop. Affidavits were exhibited to prove that the compilation in queſtion was the property of another bookſeller named Miller; ſent to Almon's ſhop without his privity; ſold by his ſervant without conſulting him; and that he had immediately, on diſcovering the fact, prevented the further ſale. One of the jury alſo tendered an affidavit of his having joined in the verdict under the influence of miſtake, as he had incorrectly conceived a point of law; but this affidavit was of courſe refuſed by the court. It appeared from the report of the trial, read by Lord Mansfield, that in giving his charge to the jury, he ſaid there was evidence of the publication if they believed the witneſs; and directed them if they were not ſatisfied that the blanks in the information were filled up according to the true ſenſe and meaning of the writer, to acquit the defendant: the epithets falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious, uſed in the information, were inferences of law, drawn from the paper itſelf; and not facts to be proved. After the caſe had been ably argued by counſel, and time taken by the court to conſider, they gave an unanimous opinion, that none of the matters urged on behalf of the defendant, nor all of them added together, were reaſons for granting a new trial. In Woodfall's caſe two motions were made: the firſt by the defendant

Trials of printers. 13th June 1770.

2d June 1770.

19th June 1770.

25th June 1770.

22d June 1770.

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3d July and 20th Nov. 1770.

to ſtay the entering up of judgment on the verdict; the other by the attorney-general, for entering a verdict according to the legal import of the finding the jury. This latter motion was firſt diſcuſſed, and Lord Mansfield in reporting the proceedings, ſtated his directions to the jury in theſe terms: "To conſider whether all the inuendos, and all the applications to matter and perſons made by the information, were, in their judgment, the true meaning of the paper? If they thought otherwiſe, to acquit the defendant; but if they agreed with the information, and believed the evidence as to the publication, they ſhould find him guilty. Whether the paper was in law a libel, was a queſtion of law upon the face of the record, for after conviction a defendant might move in arreſt of judgment if the paper was not a libel: the epithets in the information were formal inferences of law from printing and publiſhing; no proof of expreſs malice was ever required, and it is in moſt caſes impoſſible to be given. Where an act, in itſelf indifferent, if done with particular intent, becomes criminal, there the intent muſt be proved and found; but where the act is itſelf unlawful, as in this caſe, the proof of juſtification lies on the defendant; and in failure thereof, the law implies a criminal intent." The court agreed in this opinion, but from the ambiguous uſe of the word *only* in the verdict, ordered a new trial[s].

THE ſentiments delivered by Lord Mansfield on this and ſimilar occaſions, produced much diſcuſſion among lawyers, as well as the public at large, and ſoon became an object of parliamentary animadverſion. The ground taken in oppoſition to the ſentiments of the lord chief juſtice, promiſed a great ſhare of popularity; the trial by jury is generally and deſervedly, dear to the nation, and every attempt to abridge the

[s] See Burrow's Reports, vol. v. 2661, 2686; Reports of theſe trials in ſeparate pamphlets, and the periodical publications; Letters to Mr. Almon in matter of libel; and Robert Morris's Letter to Sir William Afton.

powers

powers or reſtrain the deciſions of that ineſtimable tribunal, excites horror from its manifeſt tendency to encroach on, and ultimately deſtroy, every valuable charter and ſocial immunity. Libelling was the darling offence of the day, and when in impeding a practice ſo dangerous, it became neceſſary for the nobleman at the head of the common law, to aſſume a technical principle expreſsly repugnant to the courſe of popular predilection, and aſſailable by a number of ſpecious arguments calculated for the level of every underſtanding, he expoſed himſelf to a moſt unequal and dangerous conteſt: his opponents were ſecure of popularity; and the obloquy attending his doctrine was ſufficient to deter many from eſpouſing or avowing in public their aſſent to his opinion. All the judges of the court of King's Bench, and the majority of eminent lawyers, agreed with Lord Mansfield; the public was decidedly hoſtile, and the tranſaction occaſioned differences of opinion among the profeſſors of the law which can never be thoroughly reconciled. CHAP. XVIII.

In the Upper Houſe, the diſcuſſion was brought forward by Lord Chatham, who took occaſion to digreſs from a buſineſs then in agitation, for the purpoſe of expreſſing his ſentiments on the modern manner of directing juries from the bench. Lord Mansfield candidly and explicitly avowed the practice, ſhewing it to be founded on reaſon, and ancient uſage. He declared his opinion, "That a libel or not a libel, was a matter of law to be decided by the bench, and the queſtion to be left to the jury, was only the fact of printing and publiſhing." Lord Chatham and Lord Camden both expreſſed aſtoniſhment and abhorrence at this doctrine, but the Houſe returned to the more immediate object of diſcuſſion. 28th Nov. 1770. Diſcuſſion of Lord Mansfield's doctrine in the Houſe of Lords.

Perhaps this debate, thus irregularly introduced, was principally deſigned to extract from the lord chief-juſtice a clear and irrevocable avowal of his judgment in

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in order to afford the better foundation to a motion which Serjeant Glynn had then in contemplation to make, and of which in a few days he gave notice. It was for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the adminiſtration of criminal juſtice, and the proceedings of the judges in Weſtminſter Hall, particularly in caſes relating to the liberty of the preſs, and the conſtitutional power and duty of juries. This motion was ſupported by all the talents of oppoſition, and no argument or mode of expreſſion omitted which would inflame the public mind, or caſt diſgrace on the character of Lord Mansfield. Serjeant Glynn affirmed, that a general belief prevailed of the judges being unfriendly to juries, encroaching on their conſtitutional power, and laying down falſe law in order to miſlead them in their verdicts. A great diſplay of legal knowledge was made by the ſerjeant and Mr. Dunning in ſupporting the motion; they were combated by De Grey, the attorney-general, and Sir Gildert Elliot; and Lord Mansfield's character was ſtrenuouſly and honourably defended by Lord Clare and Mr. Jenkinſon. The conduct of Wedderburne and Burke was highly honourable; for while they ſupported the motion, they diſclaimed and reprobated all thoſe aſperities of diction which had been uſed in ſpeaking of the lord chief-juſtice, and paid the merited tribute of applauſe to his extraordinary talents, and conſpicuous integrity. The motion was loſt by a large majority [h].

Serjeant Glynn's motion, 3d Dec. 1770.

6th Dec. 1770.

Lord Mansfield leaves a paper with the clerk of the Houſe of Lords. 7th Dec. 1770.

It now became indiſpenſably neceſſary for Lord Mansfield to place his ſentiments in ſo clear a view, that they ſhould no longer be ſubject to miſrepreſentation, and for that purpoſe he demanded a call of the Houſe. As he did not ſtate preciſely what were his motives for this meaſure, great expectations were entertained, of his intending voluntarily to defend his own conduct, and explain the grounds and

[h] 18 to 76. It is to be obſerved, that this debate took place before the [illegible] already noticed.

authorities

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authorities which ſerved as a baſis for his opinion. But he had no ſuch intention, nor was it requiſite, or even prudent for him to undertake the taſk: he delivered to the clerk of the Houſe, for the information of the members, a copy of the unanimous opinion of the court of King's Bench in Woodfall's caſe; a paper drawn with great preciſion, and containing in ſmall compaſs the merits and the law. Lord Camden inquired if this paper was to be entered on the journals, but being anſwered in the negative, on the following day attempted to renew the diſcuſſion. He conſidered the paper left by Lord Mansfield as a direct challenge to him, and propoſed ſix interrogatories, which the chief-juſtice very properly declined anſwering. After ſome ineffectual endeavours to engage Lord Mansfield in a diſcuſſion of the queſtion, it was left for the deciſion of the courts of law: a motion afterward made in the Lower Houſe, for leave to bring in a bill to aſcertain the powers of juries in caſe of libels, was over-ruled[1].

11th Dec. 1770.

12th.

6th Mar. 1771.

Diſfranchiſement of New Shoreham.

One of the moſt extraordinary ſubjects which for a long time occupied the attention of Parliament, preſented itſelf this ſeſſion. A petition was lodged againſt Hugh Roberts, the returning officer of New Shoreham, for returning a candidate with only thirty-ſeven votes, in prejudice of another who had eighty-ſeven, although he had queried ſeventy-ſix of the number. In his defence the officer diſcloſed a ſhocking and diſguſting ſcene of venality, perjury, and hypocriſy. A majority of the freemen formed themſelves into an aſſociation, denominated the *Chriſtian Club*: the pretended motives of their confederacy were piety and charity; the real purpoſe, corruption. They made a traffic of their oaths and conſciences, offered the borough for ſale to the higheſt bidder, and utterly precluded the other freemen from any beneficial

[1] 218 to 72. The motion was made by Mr. Dowdeſwell, and a draft of the intended bill, forming the baſis of one afterward introduced by Mr. Fox, may be ſeen in Rivington's Annual Regiſter for 1771, p. 138.

exerciſe

CHAP. XVIII. 1771.

exercise of their franchise. They were bound to secrecy and to each other by oaths, writings, and bonds with large penalties, and carried on their negotiations by means of a select committee, who, under pretence of scruples of conscience, never voted at elections themselves; but having sold the borough, and received the stipulated price, directed the suffrages of the rest, relying on this complicated effort of fraud to prevent detection, and enjoy without remorse the fruits of their dishonesty. At a late vacancy, occasioned by the death of Sir Stephen Cornish, five candidates appeared for the borough, and a committee of five was appointed by the club to treat for the sale. General Smith, one of the candidates, offered three thousand pounds, and to build at Shoreham six hundred tons of shipping. Mr. Rumbolt offered thirty-five pounds a man, to all the freemen; his proposal was accepted, but his agent was directed not to take notice of voters who were not of the club. The returning officer who had been a member of this society, and was well acquainted with their measures, having taken umbrage at some of their proceedings, determined to thwart and oppose them. He therefore obtained the opinion of counsel, and although the majority of voters took the oaths against bribery and corruption, he considered them disqualified, and made his return accordingly. As the select committee appointed under Mr. Grenville's act, could not take proper cognizance of these flagitious transactions, they reported them to the House, and Roberts was ordered to attend at the bar. His defence not appearing sufficient intirely to exculpate him, though his conduct was acknowledged to be founded on proper principles, he was reprimanded by the Speaker, and discharged. The circumstances thus disclosed were afterward taken into consideration, evidence examined, and a bill brought in, by which, after several alterations, amendments, and debates, eighty-one freemen of Shoreham, named in the bill, were disfranchised,

7th Feb.

18th.

and rendered incapable of voting at any election of members of Parliament, and the right of electing members for that borough extended to all the freeholders in the Rape of Bramber in the county of Suſſex, who had tenements of the value of forty ſhillings. This meaſure was by ſome conſidered too lenient, and propoſals made utterly to diſfranchiſe the borough, but the precedent was thought dangerous; others, on the contrary, were deſirous to limit the puniſhment to the operations of law on the guilty individuals, but this was rejected, as affording, from the difficulty of obtaining legal evidence, a proſpect of certain immunity [k]. CHAP. XVIII. 1771.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion, ſeveral attempts were made by the oppoſition to introduce popular laws, and raiſe popular queſtions. A bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons for repealing a clauſe in the Nullum Tempus act; it was read twice, but loſt on the third reading by an inconſiderable majority [l]. The Duke of Richmond moved the Houſe of Lords to reverſe its reſolution of not impeaching, directly or indirectly, the judgment of the Houſe of Commons, in the Middleſex election; Lord Chatham moved for an addreſs, praying the King to diſſolve the Parliament; and Alderman Sawbridge, in the Lower Houſe, made a motion to ſhorten the duration of Parliaments. All theſe efforts were unſucceſsful; but Alderman Sawbridge renewed his motion in every ſeſſion till his death.

27th Feb.

30th April.

1ſt May.

[k] Debates; Annual Regiſter, 1771, p. 54; Hiſtory of the Boroughs, &c. of Great Britain, vol. iii. p. 52; article Shoreham.

[l] 164 to 155.

CHAPTER THE NINETEENTH.

1771—1772.

Diſpute between the Houſe of Commons and the city. — Publication of debates. — Colonel Onſlow's complaint of a breach of privilege. — Printers ordered to attend at the bar — their contumacy — order for taking them in cuſtody. — proclamation — they are arreſted and diſcharged. — Complaint againſt other printers — their conduct. — Conduct of the minority. — The meſſenger arreſted — carried before the lord-mayor — and holden to bail. — Proceedings in the Houſe of Commons. — Alderman Oliver and the lord-mayor committed to the Tower. — Zeal of the populace. — Proceedings of the common council. — Addreſs of Wilkes in eluding the reſentment of Parliament. — Committee appointed — their report. — Debates on the Durham Yard Bill. — End of the ſeſſion. — City petition — the King's anſwer. — Diviſions in the City party. — Death of the Earl of Halifax — and conſequent changes in adminiſtration. — Meeting of Parliament. — Augmentation of naval eſtabliſhment. — Petition for relief from ſubſcription to the articles of religion — motion to bring it in rejected. — Church Nullum Tempus. — Dr. Nowell's ſermon on King Charles's martyrdom — debates on expunging the vote of thanks to him. — Motion for abrogating the obſervance of the thirtieth of January. — Efforts of the diſſenters. — Motion to repeal the teſt laws. — Bill paſſes the Lower Houſe — but is rejected by the Lords. — Marriage of the King's brothers. — The King's meſſage to Parliament. — Royal marriage bill — paſſes the Lords — proteſt — paſſes the Commons. — Cloſe of the ſeſſion. — Strength of adminiſtration. — Misfortunes in the royal family. — Death of the Princeſs Dowager of Wales. — Revolutions in Denmark.

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1771.

Diſpute between the Houſe of Commons and the city.

THE diſpoſition to oppoſe the proceedings of the legiſlature, which had long diſtinguiſhed the city of London, ſtill prevailed, and produced a conteſt between the Houſe of Commons and the lord-mayor, which is curious in its progreſs, and memorable from the reſult.

NOT-

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1771.

Mode of publiſhing Debates.

NOTWITHSTANDING the known law and privilege of parliament, the printers of certain newſpapers were in the habit of detailing the debates of both Houſes. Theſe communications were highly gratifying to the public, and the ſucceſs of a newſpaper was principally dependent on the reports of parliamentary proceedings. But as all theſe papers were devoted to the purpoſes of party, little care was taken to impart a juſt detail of the ſpeeches, and they were frequently miſrepreſented in a manner which could hardly be conſidered accidental. The only effectual remedy for this grievance, was a general inforcement of the ſenatorial privilege: for if the Houſe admitted the right of the printers to report correctly, and left to individuals the taſk of appealing to the courts of law againſt falſe ſtatements, the proceeding would have been found circuitous, uncertain and dangerous. The other mode had been frequently followed; the printers were ſummoned to the bar, and fined or reprimanded according to the nature of their demerits.

9th Feb. Colonel Onſlow's complaint of a breach of privilege.

IN this ſeſſion, Colonel George Onſlow made a complaint to the Houſe of Thompſon and Wheble, two publiſhers of newſpapers, for miſrepreſenting the ſpeeches, and reflecting on ſeveral of the members. The obnoxious paſſages being read by the clerk, Colonel Onſlow moved that the printers ſhould be brought to juſtice, for infringing the ſtanding order. This practice, it was obſerved, had attained an infamous height; members were repreſented to the world as uttering ſentiments they never pronounced; and their characters were often by theſe means degraded in the opinions of their conſtituents. The practice had not prevailed in former times: even during the moſt violent oppoſition to Sir Robert Walpole, no tranſactions or ſpeeches were publiſhed, except during the intervals of parliament, and then only in a decent manner; and it was now abſolutely neceſſary,

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either to puniſh the offenders ſeverely, or reverſe the ſtanding order.

THE motion was combated by an aſſertion, that the miniſterial papers were no leſs abuſive than thoſe devoted to the oppoſition; it was argued, that the imparting to conſtituents the parliamentary behaviour of their repreſentatives, was founded on the trueſt principles of the conſtitution, and miſrepreſentations ought to be puniſhed legally, on complaint from the individual affected, and not by the hand of power, and weight of the legiſlature, whoſe exerciſe of authority is always odious and oppreſſive. Colonel Onſlow's motion was however carried[a], and the printers ordered to attend at the bar of the Houſe.

Printers ordered to attend at the bar.

THE execution of this order was adjourned ſeveral times, and when the Houſe demanded the appearance of the printers, it was diſcovered that their laſt order of adjournment had not been ſerved. Another excuſe of the ſame kind was admitted; but the parties ſtill remaining in a ſtate of contumacy, the ſerjeant at arms was directed to take them into cuſtody. This order was not obtained without a violent debate: the number of the minority was inconſiderable[b], but the arguments uſed in the Houſe, and the time which elapſed from the firſt agitation of the buſineſs, occaſioned many diſcuſſions both in converſation and in print, and enabled the party in the city who were deſirous of oppoſing government, to concert a plan of operations.

Their contumacy. 19th. 21ſt. 26th. Order for taking them in cuſtody.

WHEN the ſerjeant at arms went to the houſes of the parties, they were conſtantly denied, and the ſervants accompanied their anſwers with contemptuous ſneers; which being reported to the Houſe, Mr. Onſlow moved for an addreſs to the King, to iſſue a proclamation, with a reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the offenders. In conſequence of this pro-

Proclamation for apprehending them. 4th March.

[a] 90 to 55. [b] 17 to 160.

clama-

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1779.

clamation, Mr. Wheble was taken by one Carpenter, a printer, and carried before Alderman Wilkes, who not only diſcharged him, but took recognizances for proſecuting the perſon by whom he was apprehended. Mr. Wilkes wrote in juſtification of this conduct to the Earl of Halifax, ſecretary of ſtate, obſerving that the proclamation did not charge Mr. Wheble with any crime, and by taking him into cuſtody, the rights of an Engliſhman, as well as the chartered privileges of the city, were groſsly violated. Mr. Thompſon, another printer, was ſimilarly arreſted, and diſcharged by Alderman Oliver. Both aldermen gave certificates to the perſons who apprehended Wheble and Thompſon, teſtifiying that they had brought before them the perſons indicated in the proclamation, and were entitled to the reward; but the colluſion was ſo palpable that the lords of the treaſury refuſed payment [c].

15th. They are arreſted and diſcharged.

As it was, before this period, apparent, from the conduct of Thompſon and Wheble, that they would eſcape the intended puniſhment, Colonel Onſlow preferred a freſh complaint againſt ſix other printers for the ſame offence, and, after a conſiderable oppoſition, they were ordered to appear at the bar. On the appointed day, four preſented themſelves; three were reprimanded and diſcharged [d]; the caſe of one was adjourned [e]; a fifth could not attend, being in cuſtody in Newgate by order of the Houſe of Lords [f]; the other, whoſe name was Miller, refuſed to obey the ſummons, and, on the motion of Mr. Onſlow, an

Complaint againſt other printers. 12th March.

14th. Their conduct.

Contumacy of Miller.

[c] Mr. Dowdeſwell attempted to intereſt the Houſe of Commons in Carpenter's behalf, and received the following humorous anſwer from Wedderburne: "As to the affair of Mr. Twyne Carpenter, I can ſee no reaſon for ſupporting him: as I underſtand it, the man is Mr. Wheble's devil. Wheble was arreſted by his own devil; he was diſcharged out of the illegal arreſt of this devil; the devil was bound over to anſwer; whether printer beats devil, or devil beats printer, is of no conſequence; there may be the devil to do; there will be the devil to pay; if the devil has had the reward that was advertiſed, the devil has fairly outwitted the noble lord near me: whether he has, or not, I do not know, but I hope this Houſe will have nothing to do with him."

[d] Baldwin, Wright, and Bladon. [e] Evans. [f] W. Woodfall.

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order was iſſued for taking him into cuſtody by the ſerjeant at arms.

1771. Conduct of the minority.

In theſe tranſactions the minority ſhowed a determined ſpirit of oppoſition, and profeſſed a reſolution to haraſs the Houſe by frequent motions of adjournment and amendment; on the firſt debate they divided the Houſe three-and-twenty times; on the laſt thirteen. This proceeding gave additional courage to their adherents in the city, and accordingly on the next day the ſineſſe of arreſting Thompſon and Wheble took place. The order for taking Mr. Miller into cuſtody being previouſly made, could not be prevented; but a plan was laid for reſiſting the effect of the ſpeaker's warrant, and diſgracing the officers of the Houſe of Commons. When the meſſenger appeared, Miller refuſed to ſubmit to the arreſt, and violence being uſed, a conſtable, prepared for the purpoſe, took charge of the officer, and carried him to Guildhall, to anſwer for the aſſault. Mr. Wilkes, the ſitting alderman, having finiſhed the buſineſs of the day, refuſed to take cognizance of the affair, and the parties were conducted to the Manſion-houſe. The lord mayor, Braſs Croſby, was indiſpoſed, and therefore deferred the buſineſs till ſix o'clock in the evening[s], in which interval, the meſſenger ſent for Mr. Clementſon, deputy ſerjeant at arms. At ſix o'clock the lord mayor, attended by Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, admitted the parties; Mr. Miller made his complaint, and the lord mayor aſked the meſſenger what offence the printer had committed, and by what authority he preſumed to aſſault him? The officer pleaded that he acted under the direction of the ſpeaker, and produced his warrant. The deputy-ſerjeant, who waited to hear what were the circumſtances alledged as an aſſault, now announced himſelf, and ſaid he came there by the ſpeaker's command, to demand, not only the meſſenger, but Miller his

The meſſenger arreſted.

Carried before the lord mayor;

[s] It was about three when they came to the Manſion-houſe.

priſoner;

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priſoner; and he did demand them in the moſt ſolemn manner. After ſome obſervations on the impropriety of arreſting a citizen, by any perſon who was neither peace-officer nor conſtable, and on the violation of the charters by a caption, made without the knowledge or authority of the lord mayor, Mr. Clementſon's application was refuſed, and Mr. Miller diſcharged. The aſſault was next proved, which conſiſted in taking Miller by the arm, in order to bring him before the Houſe of Commons. The meſſenger, by Mr. Clementſon's direction, refuſed to give bail to anſwer this complaint, and a warrant for committing him to the compter was ſigned by the lord mayor and the two aldermen. When the matter had proceeded to this extremity, and the officers were ready to take away the meſſenger, bail was given.

and holden to bail.

THE deputy-ſerjeant at arms immediately related theſe tranſactions, which were received with great indignation by the Houſe. Orders were iſſued for the lord mayor and Alderman Oliver to attend in their places, and Mr. Wilkes at the bar. Mr. Croſby, in his defence, alledged that his oath as an alderman of London, obliged him to defend the charters of the city, which he produced, and required to be heard by counſel. This propoſition was ſtrongly enforced by Alderman Trecothick, Sir Joſeph Mawbey, and others, but rejected [h], though an order was afterward made that he might be heard by counſel on all points which did not controvert the privileges of the houſe: the lord mayor's clerk was alſo directed to attend with the book of minutes, and the recognizance entered into for the meſſenger's appearance was eraſed.

Proceedings in the Houſe of Commons.

19th and 20th.

AFTER ſome delays, occaſioned by Mr. Croſby's illneſs, he was heard in his own defence, having refuſed the indulgence of counſel, on account of the limitation with which it was conceded, and of the

21ſt. Act of the lord mayor declared breaches of privilege.

[h] 202 to 79.

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abſence of all thoſe of whoſe aſſiſtance he was particularly deſirous. The evidence being concluded, the Houſe, after a debate which laſted till near one o'clock in the morning, reſolved, "That to releaſe a perſon taken by virtue of the ſpeaker's warrant; to apprehend the meſſenger of the Houſe for executing his warrant; and to hold the meſſenger to bail for ſuch pretended aſſault, were all breaches of privilege."

Oliver.

IT was then propoſed to proceed againſt Mr. Oliver. A motion of adjournment was made on account of the lateneſs of the hour, but negatived [k]. The alderman, being called on for his defence, ſaid, "He owned and gloried in the fact laid to his charge; he knew that whatever puniſhment was intended, nothing he could ſay would avert it; as for himſelf he was perfectly unconcerned; and, as he expected little from their juſtice, he defied their power." A motion being made for committing him to the Tower, Colonel Barré, after a violent and indignant ſpeech, quitted the Houſe, attended by above twenty-five or thirty members. An amendment was moved, to place the delinquent members in cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, inſtead of committing them to the Tower, which in all probability would have paſſed, had not Mr. Oliver pertinaciouſly refuſed making the ſlighteſt conceſſion [l].

27th.

WHEN the lord mayor again attended the Houſe, all the avenues were beſet by a clamorous and outrageous mob, who inſulted ſeveral of the miniſterial members, particularly Lord North and Mr. Fox; and defying the civil power, would probably have proceeded to the greateſt outrages, had they not been tranquillized by ſome of the popular members. Several of the oppoſition party refuſed to appear in the Houſe, and Sir George Savile and Mr. Burke re-

And the lord mayor committed to the Tower,

[k] 214 to 97.

[l] The queſtion for his commitment was carried, 170 to 38.

tired

tired before the debate; ſaying "they conſidered the refuſal to hear the lord mayor by counſel, as a prohibition of juſtice." In conſideration of his ill health, it was moved that Mr. Croſby ſhould be taken into cuſtody by the ſerjeant at arms, but he diſdained the intended lenity. He ſaid his health was conſiderably amended; he had no favour to aſk of the Houſe; and, in juſtice to his honourable friend, he ought to be ſent to the Tower; he thought he had acted rightly, and on a ſimilar occaſion would adopt the ſame mode of conduct. An amendment was then moved, and after a debate which laſted till near midnight, he was committed to the Tower.

Zeal of the populace.

THE mob, conſidering the chief magiſtrate of the city as a martyr in the cauſe of freedom, took the horſes from his carriage, and drew it to Temple Bar, where they ſhut the city gates, and inſiſted on the deputy-ſerjeant at arms quitting the coach, and proceeding no further: the lord mayor was obliged to interpoſe, and quiet them, by an aſſurance that the gentlemen by whom he was accompanied were his particular friends, and were eſcorting him home: at the manſion-houſe the populace retired, and Mr. Croſby went privately to the Tower. A few days afterward, the populace ſhowed their indignation by hanging and beheading on Tower Hill, with many ignominious circumſtances, effigies repreſenting perſons of high rank, who were inimical to their favourites.

1ſt and 5th April.

Proceedings of the court of common council. 19th and 21ſt March.

THE city zealouſly eſpouſed the cauſe of their magiſtrates. At a court of common-council, convened at Guildhall, where Mr. Trecothick officiated as locum tenens for the lord mayor, public thanks in writing were voted to the chief magiſtrate and the two aldermen; a committee of four aldermen and eight commoners was appointed to aſſiſt in their defence before the Houſe, and empowered to employ ſuch counſel as ſhould be thought fit, and to draw on the chamber of London for any ſum not exceeding

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five hundred pounds. When Croſby and Oliver were in cuſtody, and theſe exertions could be no longer beneficial, the committee ordered the expences of their table to be paid by the city; writs of habeas corpus were by their inſtructions ſued out, and the priſoners ſeparately conveyed before Lord Mansfield, and Lord Chief Juſtice de Grey; counſel attended, but after a full hearing, the judges declared themſelves not authorized to interfere, and the priſoners were remanded. In the enſuing term they were again brought, by writs of habeas corpus, before the courts of Common Pleas and Exchequer, but in both, the Bench declared themſelves unable to reverſe the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, and the priſoners were therefore obliged to remain in cuſtody till the prorogation of parliament, which in courſe terminated their captivity. Their diſcharge was celebrated by illuminations and public rejoicings; they were, by order of the common-council, attended from the Tower to the Manſion-houſe by a magnificent proceſſion of city officers in their robes; while a large concourſe of people teſtified unbounded exultation.

3d April.

5th.

22d and 30th April.

8th May.

Addreſs of Wilkes.

Mr. WILKES alone eſcaped with impunity: by a letter to the ſpeaker he refuſed to appear in the houſe, unleſs called to his place as member for Middleſex. Other orders for his attendance being likewiſe diſregarded, the Houſe was embarraſſed: Mr. Wilkes's partizans urged the propriety of vindicating the dignity of parliament, and not permitting him to eſcape, while his fellow-delinquents were ſubjected to ſuch ſevere puniſhment; but the miniſtry, apprehenſive of expoſing themſelves in a further conteſt with ſuch an opponent, evaded all further diſcuſſion of the point, by an expedient, in which conveniency was conſulted more than dignity: an order was paſſed for the attendance of Mr. Wilkes on the eighth of April, and the Houſe adjourned till the ninth.

19th March, 20th and 24th.

28th Mar. Committee appointed.

A SECRET committee of twenty-one members was appointed for the purpoſe of aſſerting and maintaining the

the dignity of parliament: they ſet with great diligence and perſeverance upwards of a month. Great expectations were formed of the reſult of their deliberations, and the friends of the lord mayor and alderman were preparing themſelves accordingly; but when the report was preſented, it merely recommended that Miller ſhould again be taken into cuſtody by the ſerjeant at arms. The report was ſucceſsfully ridiculed by Mr. Burke, and a motion of thanks to the committee, made in ſuch a burleſque ſtyle, that Lord North moved an adjournment. No further attempt was made againſt Miller, and from this period the publiſhers of newſpapers and other periodical works have been in the conſtant habit of detailing the proceedings of both Houſes of Parliament [m].

30th April. Their report.

ANOTHER occaſion of conteſt between the city and the legiſlature aroſe in the bill for enabling certain perſons to incloſe and embank part of the river Thames adjoining to Durham Yard, Saliſbury Street, Cecil Street, and Beaufort Buildings. The propoſition was referred to a committee, who reported in its favour, and recommended that the bill ſhould be brought in. The city, conſidering their property expoſed to en-

Debates on the Durham Yard bill. 22d Feb.

[m] See debates on the days mentioned in the margin; Annual Regiſter, for 1771, chapter vi.; Hiſtory of Lord North's Adminiſtration, p. 35 to 48; Reflections on the preſent diſpute between the Houſe of Commons and the magiſtrates of London; and many other pamphlets, and all the periodical works of the time.—Having related theſe tranſactions with a minuteneſs proportioned to their ſingularity and the importance of the reſult, it may be proper to make a few obſervations. A broad ſtatement, that it is but right and decent for the conſtituents to have an opportunity of knowing what is ſaid and done by their repreſentatives, appears almoſt a truiſm: but the daily publication of debates on ſubjects yet undecided is often productive of bad effects, by inſpiring exaggerated hopes and unfounded fears, and by inducing members to addreſs their ſentiments rather to the galleries than to the chair. The diſpoſition to debate on all public affairs has perhaps been increaſed by this practice; but the diſputants without doors are put much more on a level than formerly; every paper which contains the arguments of one ſide gives alſo the reply; whereas formerly, political diſputes were only judged of by party pamphlets, and occaſional publications of proteſts, and garbled debates. Every liberty may be perverted, and licentiouſneſs may reſult from malice or from ignorance; but guarded as the members of parliament are, both by equal laws and excluſive privileges, they have little to fear from perſonal miſrepreſentation; and a moderate and timely exertion of the ſtanding order to clear the houſe, when particular debates are expected, will always inſure the nation againſt the effects of indiſcreet publications of matters which ought to be kept ſecret.

croach-

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croachment, were heard by counſel: they produced a grant of Henry VII. of all the ſoil and bed of the river from Staines Bridge to a place in Kent, near the Medway, and ſhowed a leaſe granted by them, ſixty-ſix years before this period, of a nook of the river at Vauxhall, under which they ſtill continued to receive rent. On the other ſide a charter of Charles II. to the city was produced, in which he reſerved the bed of the river, and it was contended that the city by receiving the latter grant, abandoned the former. The charter of Henry VII. extended only to the ſoil of the river within the city and ſuburbs; the leaſe of Vauxhall was a mere encroachment, and the right of the city was utterly denied. Theſe arguments prevailed; the bill was committed, and paſſed both Houſes; a proteſt was entered on the lords' journals, ſigned by three peers only. A magnificent pile of buildings, called the Adelphi, has been erected on the ſite.

8th March.

5th May. End of the Seſſion.

In the ſpeech from the throne, which terminated this long and active ſeſſion, the King congratulated the Houſes on thoſe exertions which had averted a war, and enabled him, with confidence, to promiſe a continuance of peace. He exhorted them to employ their beſt endeavours in rendering the national happineſs complete, by diſcouraging and ſuppreſſing all groundleſs ſuſpicions and domeſtic diſturbances. "I have no other object," he ſaid, "and I can have no other intereſt, than to reign in the hearts of a free and happy people: and it is my earneſt wiſh, that my ſubjects may not be prevented, by any miſtakes, or animoſities amongſt themſelves, from enjoying, in the fulleſt extent, the bleſſings of a mild and legal government. The ſupport of our excellent conſtitution is our common duty and intereſt. By that ſtandard I would wiſh my people to try all public principles and profeſſions, and to look upon thoſe as their moſt dangerous enemies, who, under any pretence, would perſuade them to violate thoſe laws, and undermine that authority which the conſtitution has provided for the purpoſe of preſerving the general liberty and happineſs."

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DURING the receſs, the city had recourſe to the accuſtomed meaſure of addreſſing and petitioning the throne. Their intention being announced, the lord-chamberlain wrote to the lord mayor, informing him the livery could not be permitted to attend him to St. James's; and copies of this letter were poſted in various parts of the city, under pretence of preventing the livery from aſſembling. A petition was preſented, couched in the ſame language with others which had been previouſly addreſſed to the throne; it complained of the arbitrary, audacious, illegal, and wicked proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, in impriſoning the city members, and procuring the Durham Yard Act; and prayed the King to give peace to the nation by a ſpeedy diſſolution of parliament, and by removing his preſent wicked and deſpotic miniſters from his preſence and councils for ever. The King, in anſwer, ſaid, he was always ready to exert his conſtitutional prerogative in redreſſing real grievances, and the city of London ſhould ever find him ready to liſten to well-founded complaints; but he felt concern at ſeeing a part of his ſubjects ſtill ſo miſled and deluded, as to renew, in ſuch reprehenſible terms, a requeſt with which he had repeatedly declared his reſolution not to comply.

City petition. 9th July.

10th.

The King's anſwer.

AT ſome preceding periods, this tranſaction would have created a conſiderable ſenſation; but the public now obſerved it without concern; the moment of deluſion was paſt, and the ſchiſm among the city patriots, which was increaſed to a great degree of perſonal animoſity, rendered their proceedings matter of indifference to all but themſelves. Cauſes, which it is no longer important to aſcertain, had created irreparable variances among the leaders of city politics: their public meetings were ſcenes of hoſtility, clamour, and recrimination; and the preſs teemed with their mutual abuſe. The ſocieties which they had inſtituted were either diſſolved, or weakened by ſeceſſions and rivalſhips; while the popularity for which they were

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were thus indecently contending was visibly and daily diminishing. During the confinement of the lord mayor, the ward of Farringdon strenuously recommended the election of Mr. Wilkes as sheriff, and he promised to accept the office if chosen. He thought proper to wait on Mr. Oliver, who was expected to be sheriff, and announced himself as a probable co-adjutor. The imprisoned alderman was decidedly adverse to the measure, and, after remonstrating with him for a considerable time in vain, sent a letter to Mr. Wilkes's deputy, stating the total difference of their political views, and his resolution for that, and many other reasons, not to serve the office of sheriff with Wilkes. Notwithstanding this intimation, Mr. Wilkes persevered in offering himself a candidate, and at the close of the poll, he and Alderman Bull were returned by a large majority [n]. Before they entered on their office, the new sheriffs appealed to the prejudices of the people, in an address to the livery, declaring their resolution not to gratify an unprincipled administration, by permitting the military to attend the execution of the law on criminals. They afterward attempted to attract notice by some factious frivolities, but the public no longer appeared interested in their manœuvres [o].

11th April. 12th. 24th June. 5th July. 20th Sept.

Death of Lord Halifax, and consequent changes. 8 June. 12th. 1st.

THERE was now, in fact, no plausible grievance to complain of; the ministry appeared more firmly united among themselves, and better supported than any preceding administration, and daily obtained new accessions of strength. During the recess, the office of

[n] On this occasion the mob testified their approbation of Wilkes by burning in effigy John Horne, late rector of Brentford, who had of late distinguished himself as one of Wilkes's principal antagonists.

[o] Wilkes sent a message (16th Oct.) to Alderman Nash, the lord mayor elect, requiring him not to give any *French wine* at the entertainments at the Old Bailey; the alderman very properly answered, that as Mr. Wilkes claimed a right of giving what he pleased, he could have no pretence for invading the privilege of another. The sheriffs, at the beginning of the session (23d October), affected to gratify the populace by throwing open the doors and galleries at the Old Bailey, and not permitting money to be received by the door-keepers; but this had no other effect than disturbing the order of the court, and incommoding the grand jury.

secretary

ſecretary of ſtate, vacated by the death of the Earl of Halifax, was conferred on the Earl of Suffolk, and his place of lord privy-ſeal was accepted by the Duke of Grafton; Lord Hyde ſucceeded, on the death of Lord Strange, to the chancellorſhip of the duchy of Lancaſter; but theſe changes made no alteration in the political ſyſtem of adminiſtration. CHAP. XIX. 1771. 12th.

As no public buſineſs claimed particular attention, the parliament did not meet before the holidays. The King's ſpeech contained no topic of importance, and the addreſſes in both Houſes were agreed to without a diviſion. The firſt debate in the Houſe of Commons was occaſioned by the motion to vote twenty-five thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the current year. In ſupport of this large eſtabliſhment, the ſtate of our poſſeſſions and relations in all quarters of the globe was diſplayed. In India the French maintained a conſiderable navy, which they had recently augmented, and the defence of our ſettlements rendered it neceſſary to create a ſuperior force. The apprehenſions for the Weſt Indies, during the late reported rupture, obliged the miniſtry to ſecure Jamaica, by maintaining an eſtabliſhment ſufficient to act as a check on Spain. The war between Ruſſia and the Turks made Britiſh property inſecure in the Mediterranean, unleſs protected in a more effective manner than uſual; and it was repreſented as a great advantage to have a conſiderable naval armament always in a ſtate of preparation. 21ſt Jan. 1772. Meeting of parliament. 29th. Augmentation of the naval eſtabliſhment.

THESE arguments were combated by Admirals Keppel and Saunders, who affirmed the equipment to be too ſmall if there was a probability of war, too large if a certainty of peace; they arraigned and condemned the whole diſpoſition and management of the navy. The miniſtry were accuſed, by other members, of making the King's ſpeech full of peace, and in a few days preparing for war; the expence of the additional eſtabliſhment was eſtimated at 500,000l., and no argument could be adduced in favour

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vour of this augmentation, which would not, with equal propriety, apply to any other year. Lord North obſerved, the armament in India was neceſſary, not only to cope with the French, but as a check on the conduct of the Company's officers, of whoſe peculation and miſconduct he grievouſly complained; and he promiſed in a year to have eighty ſhips of the line fit for ſervice, which would at any time be a ſuperior force to the French and Spaniards united. This meaſure was adopted.

Petition for relief from ſubſcription to the articles of religion. 6th Feb.

SEVERAL attempts were made in this ſeſſion to effect general or particular alterations in the conſtitution and regulations of the church. Among the earlieſt was the motion by Sir William Meredith, for leave to bring up a petition from ſome of the clergy, and of the two profeſſions of civil law and phyſic, praying relief from the ſubſcription to the Thirty-nine Articles. The intention of the petitioners was well known; they had long held aſſemblies at the Feathers Tavern, and, by public advertiſement, invited all who conſidered themſelves aggrieved by the laws relative to ſubſcription, to unite in their efforts for obtaining redreſs. Their proceedings occaſioned ſome animadverſion, and the preſs was employed in impugning and vindicating their intentions. The members therefore came to the Houſe fully prepared on the ſubject, aware of its introduction, of the ſtrength of argument by which the petition could be ſupported, and of the influence by which it was to be ſuſtained.

THE paper preſented to the Houſe, claimed for the petitioners certain rights and privileges, held of God only, and ſubject to his authority alone, but from which they were in a great meaſure precluded by the laws of ſubſcription, which required them to acknowledge certain articles and confeſſions of faith drawn up by fallible men, to be all and every of them agreeable to the Scriptures. Independently of the encroachment on their rights, they repreſented the

the ſubſcription as injurious to the Chriſtian religion, by precluding inquiry into the true ſenſe of the Scripture; by enabling unbelievers to reproach the clergy with prevarication and flexibility to objects of lucre or political conſideration; by affording to papiſts the advantage of reflecting on the religious eſtabliſhment as inconſiſtently framed; by dividing the clergy; and by occaſioning ſcruples and embarraſſment of conſcience to thoughtful and worthy perſons, in regard to entrance into the miniſtry, or cheerful continuance in the exerciſe of it. The clerical part of the petitioners complained of being obliged to *join iſſue* with the adverſaries of Revelation, by ſuppoſing the true ſenſe of Scripture to be expreſſed in the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of faith, or elſe to incur the reproach of having departed from their ſubſcriptions, the ſuſpicion of inſincerity, and the repute of being ill affected to the church, whereby their utility among their flocks, and their ſucceſs againſt the enemies of Chriſtianity, were generally obſtructed. The petitioners educated with a view to the profeſſions of civil law and phyſic, complained of being obliged at their firſt admiſſion or matriculation in the univerſity, to ſubſcribe unfeigned aſſent to a variety of theological propoſitions, which, from their immature age and want of leiſure, they could not be ſuppoſed to have duly examined, and they all complained of the injury poſterity would ſuſtain in being irrevocably bound to the tenets of an age leſs enlightened than their own. In concluſion they profeſſed a full recognition of the King's ſupremacy, and an abhorrence of popery, and prayed to be relieved from an obligation ſo incompatible with the right of private judgment, ſo pregnant with danger to true religion, and ſo productive of diſtreſs to many pious and conſcientious men; ſubmitting their cauſe, under God, to the wiſdom and juſtice of a Britiſh Parliament, and the piety of a Proteſtant King.

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THE motion for receiving this petition was ſeconded by Mr. Thomas Pitt. Sir William Meredith ſtated it as repugnant to the liberality of ſentiment prevalent in this age, to oblige people to ſubſcribe to the truth of articles which they could not believe; ſuch a neceſſity produced habits of prevarication and licentiouſneſs in the church, and had a tendency to deſtroy Chriſtian charity. The eſtabliſhment, he contended, would, by the propoſed reformation, acquire a firmneſs which nothing could ſhake.

THE reception of the petition was oppoſed on various grounds, and with great diverſity of argument, which occaſioned a long and deſultory debate. Sir Roger Newdigate deprecated the meaſure, as tending to deſtroy the very being of the church of England; reproached the clergy with ſigning ſuch a petition, after they had ſubſcribed the Thirty-nine Articles; ridiculed their alleged ſcruples of conſcience, and ſaid it was ſuch tender conſciences that, in the laſt century, ſubverted the church. He denied the power of the Houſe to diſpenſe with oaths, or receive a petition which would be a direct breach of the articles of union between England and Scotland. The King too was bound by oath never to admit any alteration in the liturgy, or in the articles.

MR. HANS STANLEY delivered his ſentiments with great moderation. The petition appeared to him to contain a ſort of contradiction, which rendered it an unfit ſubject for deliberation; a minority in number came to ſolicit from the majority a material alteration in religion [o]. He had heard it generally aſſerted, that the original intention of the petitioners was to object to certain articles of the thirty-nine, and to particular parts of the liturgy; but not being able to agree among themſelves in all reſpects, they had placed the Houſe as well as themſelves, in a ſituation of con-

[o] About 240 perſons ſubſcribed the petition, of whom 200 were clergymen. The whole number of the clergy was calculated to be 20,000.

ſiderable embarraſſment; they applied to become members of an eccleſiaſtical community, namely, the Church of England, yet deſired the foundation on which that conſtitution is built to be removed. Profeſſing himſelf a warm friend to toleration, he reſiſted the right of ſeparate ſectaries to teach ſchiſmatical doctrines under the garb of the Church of England. No reformer, whoſe name has been tranſmitted with honour and approbation, ever framed ſo wild an idea as that of putting all religious creeds on a level. "If all the founders of religious ſyſtems," he ſaid, "were alive at the ſame time, I am perſuaded they would compoſe as numerous an army as that with which Alexander ſubdued the Perſian empire; yet every one of them would derive his tenets from the Scriptures: but the wiſdom of all countries has rather choſen to truſt to explanations, derived from the mature labour and conſideration of a venerable and pious hierarchy, than to the crude fancies and notions of every aſſuming dogmatizer, who deſires to make himſelf famous for the ſingularity of his ſentiments: on this account, ſyſtems and creeds have prevailed all over Chriſtendom." Denying that it was a great hardſhip for perſons who, from ſcruples of their own, could not accept church preferment, to ſeek other virtuous employments, he concluded with ſaying, he thought the peace of mankind a fortieth article which he prized as much as the other thirty-nine; and although many diſputes had ariſen in the civil adminiſtration of the country, yet reſpecting its eccleſiaſtical affairs, we had, ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, enjoyed more peace than any other age or country could boaſt. He pronounced it inconſiſtent and dangerous to introduce ſuch a propoſition to Parliament; for though a free country may alter any law, for law is the creature of the legiſlature, and can be altered, yet there are laws ſo fundamental that they cannot be altered without ſhaking the baſis of the ſtate.

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Mr. Wedderburne, in oppoſing the petition, denied that it contained any thing detrimental to the compact of union between England and Scotland, and cited precedents in which the church government had been already very properly changed.

Mr. Burke reſiſted the introduction of the petition, not becauſe the Church of England could not ſubſiſt independently of the Thirty-nine Articles, but becauſe the petitioners, by the extraordinary latitude they had taken, rendered their objects indeterminate. "What are we to underſtand," he ſaid, "by the Holy Scriptures, which theſe gentlemen deſire to make a profeſſion of their belief in? The Romiſh canon admits the books of the Apocrypha; the canon of Luther excludes ſome parts of the Pentateuch, and the whole Epiſtle to the Hebrews; and ſome ancient fathers have rejected the book of Revelations. Mankind are as little likely to be of one mind on this, as on any other point."

Sir George Savile and Mr. Thomas Pitt defended the petition, and the character of the petitioners; vindicated their pretenſions to be exempt from ſubſcription to complicated creeds; and aſſerted, that there was no argument urged againſt the petition which would not impeach the reformation.

Lord North, Mr. Fox, and ſeveral other members of talents, oppoſed the reception of the petition, and were replied to by Sawbridge, Sutton, and Dunning.

The caſe was generally argued, as it affected the clergy; the Houſe ſeeming to conſider the operation of the act upon the profeſſions of law and phyſic of ſmall importance to the public; but a wiſh was expreſſed that the Univerſities would grant relief in that point, as well as to young ſtudents at the time of matriculation. Lord George Germaine deſcanted at conſiderable length on the impropriety of this reſtriction. Soame Jenyns defended the Univerſities, and particularly

particularly Cambridge, averring that they could not annul the practice of enjoining a ſubſcription, as it was founded on a royal ſtatute, ordained at the inſtance of King James I. CHAP. XIX. 1772.

THE debate was long and ſpirited; the cauſe of the petitioners, and of the church, being defended with equal zeal and ability: nor was the ſubject treated as a party queſtion, but diſcuſſed entirely on its merits. The motion to bring in the petition was loſt by a great majority [p].

ANOTHER attack on the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment was made by Mr. Henry Seymour, who moved for leave to bring in a bill for ſecuring the poſſeſſions of the ſubject againſt dormant claims of the church: this was called the Church Nullum Tempus bill. In ſupport of the propoſition the common topics were alleged, tending to ſhow the impropriety of tolerating long dormant claims, and the tyrannical and oppreſſive uſe to which they might be applied. On the other ſide it was ſhown, that the Nullum Tempus claimed by the crown, and put an end to by a ſtatute, was an engine in the hands of the ſtrong to oppreſs the weak; whereas the Nullum Tempus of the church was a defence to the weak againſt the ſtrong. The motion was rejected [q]. Feb. 17th. Church Nullum Tempus.

DR. NOWELL, principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, in preaching before the Houſe of Commons, on the 30th. Jan. Sermon on

[p] 217 to 71. In detailing this debate I have principally relied on the Hiſtory of Lord North's Adminiſtration; the author of which aſſerts, that he derived his information from minutes taken in the Houſe, and never before publiſhed. The compiler of Debrett's Debates has given two details, differing materially from each other, and from that I have principally conſulted; but of them I have made ſome uſe. Some information has alſo been derived from a variety of pamphlets, particularly Wollaſton's Addreſs to the Clergy; Thoughts on the Dangers apprehended from Popery and Sectaries, by abolishing Subſcription to the Thirty-nine Articles; Letters on the Subject of Subſcription to the Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles, publiſhed under the ſignature of Paulinus; A Letter to the Members of the Houſe of Commons, reſpecting the Petition for Religion, by a Chriſtian Whig; and Tucker's Apology for the Church of England. For a curious and characteriſtic letter on this ſubject, ſee Gibbon's Poſthumous Works, vol. i. p. 447.

[q] 141 to 117.

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anniverſary of King Charles's martyrdom, expreſſed ſentiments which were conſidered highly repugnant to the liberties of the kingdom, as eſtabliſhed by the glorious Revolution in 1688; this gave riſe to another debate, in which an attempt was to change the eccleſiaſtical regulations. As only the ſpeaker and four members were preſent at the delivery of Dr. Nowell's diſcourſe[r], a motion of thanks, and for printing the ſermon, was carried without difficulty; but when the ſermon was tranſmitted to the members, its contents excited ſevere animadverſions.

King Charles's martyrdom.

21ſt Feb. Debates on the vote of thanks to the preacher.

Mr. Thomas Townshend, it is ſaid, moved that the ſermon ſhould be burned by the common hangman, as containing arbitrary, Tory, highflown doctrines; and the motion would probably have been carried, had not the Houſe recollected their previous vote; it was then propoſed, that in future, ſermons ſhould be printed before the preacher was thanked; this was negatived by moving the order of the day. Yet the diſcuſſion was not permitted to end: the Honourable Boyle Walſingham, ſupported by Mr. Thomas Townſhend, moved to expunge the thanks given to Dr. Nowell, which, after a ſtrenuous conteſt, was carried without a diviſion[s].

In this debate many topics were introduced, tending to involve general queſtions of government, and reflecting on the character of Charles I. Lord Folkſtone ironically juſtified the preacher, becauſe his doctrines were conformable to the ſervice of the day, which was compoſed by Father Petre, confeſſor to James II. Alderman Sawbridge defended the murder of Charles, which he ſaid was a juſt puniſhment for his diſſimulation, oppreſſion, and cruelty; and at the ſame time ſarcaſtically inquired if theſe were the virtues which Dr. Nowell meant to recom-

[r] Gibbon's Poſthumous Works, vol. i. p. 450.

[s] In the courſe of the debate the order of the day was moved and negatived by 152 to 41.

mend

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mend to the King[t]. In purſuance of theſe ſentiments, Mr. Montague moved for a repeal of the act for obſerving the thirtieth of January, which he obſerved was in ſome meaſure blaſphemous, as it conveyed a parallel between Charles I. and our bleſſed Saviour. The liturgy was defended by Sir Roger Newdigate, and the motion loſt on a diviſion[u].

1772. 2d Mar. Motion for abrogating the obſervance of King Charles's martyrdom.

In this interval the proteſtant diſſenting miniſters were actively engaged in preparing an application to Parliament, for "A legal ſecurity againſt thoſe penalties to which ſuch of them were liable as could not conſcientiouſly comply with the terms of the Toleration Act; and alſo to obtain relief for tutors and ſchoolmaſters from thoſe oppreſſive laws to which they were expoſed, and from the inconveniences which they actually ſuffered in endeavouring to get the natural courſe of thoſe laws obſtructed[x]." The penal laws originally enacted againſt Diſſenters were extremely ſevere; but by the Toleration Act, paſſed ſoon after the Revolution, all diſſenters were exempted from the operation of the old laws who would ſubſcribe the doctrinal articles of the church of England, which included thirty-five and a half out of thirty-nine[y]. This act was framed with the full aſſent of the Diſſenters of thoſe days, who were ſtrict Calviniſts: but in a ſhort period afterward, ſchiſms

Efforts of the Diſſenters.

[t] Since the publication of the firſt edition of this Work, I have learnt from unqueſtionable authority, that Dr. Nowell undertook to preach this ſermon at the expreſs requeſt of the ſpeaker, who after hearing it, obſerved, good humouredly, that he would be attacked by the Reviewers. Before it was printed, in purſuance of the order of the Houſe, Dr. Nowell waited on the ſpeaker, and offered to expunge or qualify any expreſſion which might be thought exceptionable, but was anſwered, "By no means." Several other perſons, eminent for judgment and moderation to whom he ſubmitted it, concurred in praiſing it, without ſuggeſting the neceſſity of an alteration. It was therefore not without great ſurprize that Dr. Nowell learnt the cenſures his ſermon had occaſioned; cenſures which, perhaps, gave him greater uneaſineſs than thoſe who pronounced them intended to convey.

[u] 125 to 97.

[x] This account of the intention of the Diſſenters, is taken verbatim from A Free and Diſpaſſionate Account of the late Application to Parliament, by Dr. Stennett, a very eminent diſſenting teacher.

[y] Thoſe excepted are the 34th, 35th, 36th, and part of the 20th.

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ariſing among them, many denied the right of a Chriſtian ſociety to impoſe articles of human compoſition on any of its members. Theſe principles prevented many of the Diſſenters from ſubſcribing the articles, and frequent attempts had been made in former reigns to relieve them from the ſubſcription and teſt laws. Although theſe efforts did not ſucceed, miniſters were highly ſenſible of the merits of the Diſſenters, in eſtabliſhing the Houſe of Hanover on the throne; and their orderly and exemplary conduct occaſioned the laws againſt them to be conſidered as a mere dead letter.

In the debate on the petition of the clergy, and in the publications which it occaſioned, the uſual acknowledgments were made in favour of the Diſſenters, and wiſhes were expreſſed that they might ſpeedily be relieved from the neceſſity of ſubſcription. Anxious to take advantage of a moment ſo apparently favourable, the miniſters reſiding in London, ſome of whom were preſent at the debate, immediately entered into a conſultation, and agreed that it was highly eligible to ſecure the benefit of the preſent diſpoſition of the Houſe, and petition for that relief they had ſo long deſired, and had been waiting for an opportunity to obtain. The limitation of the period for preſenting petitions was an inſurmountable obſtacle to their ſoliciting the co-operation of their brethren in the country, and they therefore intended to defer the propoſed application till another ſeſſion, when, at one of the meetings, intelligence was communicated of the favourable diſpoſition of government; accompanied with the offer of a perſon in high ſtation to bring in their bill by way of motion, which could be done at any time in the ſeſſion [z].

The hopes of the Diſſenters were thus inflamed to a moſt ſanguine confidence: they diſtributed among

[z] See the Caſe of the Diſſenting Miniſters, by Iſrael Mauduit: A Free and Diſpaſſionate Account of the late Application, by Dr. Stennett; and Vindication of the Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters, by Dr. Kippis.

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1772. 3d April. Motion to repeal the teſt laws.

the members of Parliament, a partial and exaggerated ſtatement of their grievances, and anticipated complete ſucceſs. The motion for leave to bring in a bill for their relief was made by Sir Henry Houghton, and ſeconded by Sir George Savile: on this occaſion the principle was fully debated; the hardſhips impoſed by the law on Proteſtant Diſſenters were diſplayed and deſcanted on with the utmoſt force, and the generous and tolerating principles of the Britiſh conſtitution invoked for their relief. In reply it was obſerved, that as the laws in queſtion were never enforced, the Diſſenters could have no room to complain; they were demanding relief who never felt an injury; and as they were never called on to ſubſcribe, they were never expoſed to the rigours of the law: to them then it was not an evil; but, if repealed, all the barriers erected by the prudence of former legiſlatures, againſt the enemies of the Church, would be deſtroyed: enthuſiaſm on the one hand, and infidelity on the other, would aſcend the pulpit, and diſtribute their pernicious dogmas without poſſibility of reſtraint, or fear of puniſhment. Publications inimical to the Church, or to the Chriſtian religion, were dangerous only in a ſmall degree, becauſe they could be anſwered in the ſame manner, and fell into the hands of perſons who where diſintereſted and unprejudiced; but the deluſions of the pulpit could never be too cautiouſly guarded againſt, becauſe they were delivered to an audience prepared, for the moſt part, to receive the deſired impreſſion, and thoſe who uttered them could not be refuted. If the Diſſenters, as a reſpectable body, claimed regard to the tenderneſs of their conſciences, the members of the eſtabliſhed church, more numerous, and not leſs reſpectable, had prior claims on the regard of the legiſlature. The preſent ought, it was ſaid, to have been entitled an act for the encouragement of Preſbyterianiſm, and for weakening and deſtroying the Church of England; it tended to revive extinguiſhed animoſities

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between the body of the people and the Diſſenters, and to eſtabliſh a republican religion, which had been at all times the ſworn foe to monarchy.

Bill paſſes the Lower Houſe.

THE cauſe of the Diſſenters, however, was ſupported by the greater ſhare of ability, and the miniſtry ſhewing a decided predilection for the meaſure the bill paſſed ſpeedily, and almoſt without oppoſition, through the Lower Houſe. In the Lords it met a different fate: it was read a firſt time, but, on the ſecond reading, the motion for committing it was rejected by a large majority[a].

May. But rejected by the Lords.

Marriage of the King's brothers.

A MESSAGE from the King, relative to the marriage of Princes of the Blood, which was delivered in the courſe of this ſeſſion, produced ſeveral animated debates, and claimed a conſiderable ſhare of public intereſt. In the ſummer of the year 1771, the Duke of Cumberland, one of the King's brothers, privately married Mrs. Horton, widow of Chriſtopher Horton, Eſq. of Catton Hall, in the county of Derby, and daughter of Lord Irnham: when the match was publicly announced His Majeſty forbad them the court. The diſpleaſure ſhown by the King on this occaſion did not deter the Duke of Glouceſter, in the enſuing ſpring, from avowing as his conſort the Counteſs Dowager of Waldegrave, whom he had eſpouſed in 1766.

20th Feb. King's meſſage.

THE meſſage ſtated, that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family, had ever belonged to the Kings of this realm, as a matter of public concern; and recommended to both Houſes of Parliament to take into ſerious conſideration, whether it might not be wiſe and expedient to ſupply the defect of the laws, and by ſome new proviſion, more effectu-

[a] 102 to 29. The bill was ſupported by the Duke of Richmond, Lord Chatham, Lord Shelburne, and Lord Lyttleton; Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden are alſo ſaid to have divided in the minority for committing it; among the principal opponents of the bill were Lord Bruce, and Lord Gower; Drummond, Archbiſhop of York; Terrick, Biſhop of London; Lowth, then Biſhop of Oxford; Hinchcliffe, Biſhop of Peterborough; and Barrington, Biſhop of Llandaff.

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ally to guard the deſcendants of George II. from marrying without the conſent of the King, his heirs and ſucceſſors. In conſequence of this meſſage, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, by which it was declared that none of the Royal Family, being under the age of twenty-five years, ſhould marry without the King's conſent; after attaining that age they were at liberty, in caſe of the King's refuſal, to apply to the privy council, by announcing the name of the perſon they were deſirous to eſpouſe, and if, within a year, neither Houſe of Parliament ſhould addreſs the King againſt it, the marriage might be legally ſolemnized; but all perſons aſſiſting in, or knowing of an intention in any of the Royal Family to marry without fulfilling theſe ceremonies, and not diſcloſing it, ſhould incur the penalties of a præmunire. CHAP. XIX. 1772.

THIS bill was vehemently oppoſed in all its ſtages; the Houſe divided, on the ſecond reading, on the preamble and on every one of the clauſes, and ſeveral propoſed amendments were rejected. On the third reading, the Marquis of Rockingham oppoſed the bill, on the ſuppoſition, that the Royal Family might in time become ſo extenſive as to include many thouſand individuals; the bill in all its parts was defended by the lord chancellor; Lord Camden objected to it for the reaſons aſſigned by the Marquis of Rockingham, and deprecated the annulling of a marriage between perſons of mature age. The bill paſſed without amendment[b]; two ſtrong proteſts were entered on the journals, the firſt ſigned by fourteen peers, the latter by ſix, two of whom had ſigned the former, and an additional article by the Earl of Radnor alone. 26th. Royal marriage bill. 3d March. Proteſts.

IN the Houſe of Commons an oppoſition equally ſtrenuous was made, and every clauſe in the bill was debated with acrimony and pertinacity; but at 13th to 24th Mar. Paſſes the commons.

[b] 90 to 26.

length

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1772. 10th June. Close of the session.

length it passed without amendment. The King, in closing the session, expressed his satisfaction at the temper and prudence with which the deliberations had been conducted; thanked Parliament for the additional security provided for the honour and welfare of his family, and requested them to use their best endeavours in cultivating and improving a spirit of harmony and confidence in all ranks of the people.

Strength of administration.

The affairs of government were now conducted with more regularity, and a greater appearance of concord and firmness, than had been hitherto experienced since the first resignation of Mr. Pitt. The minister, by the suavity of his manners, attached many friends, and tranquillized many opponents, while the increasing prosperity of the nation enabled him with confidence to hold out the agreeable prospect of a reduction of the national debt. The city patriots, divided, enfeebled, and reduced both in numbers and popularity, could no longer give uneasiness to the court, or agitate the people[c].

Misfortunes in the Royal Family.

But when the course of public affairs no longer presented motives of disquiet, the King suffered severe afflictions in his own family. He considered his dignity injured by the marriage of his brothers, and found himself compelled to testify disapprobation by severity, and apply to the legislature for protection against the recurrence of similar acts. He had the misfortune, early in this year, to lose his surviving parent, whom he loved and honoured with all the ardour and reverence becoming the filial character. The slanders with which this amiable princess

8th Feb. Death of the Princess Dowager of Wales.

[c] Crosby, Oliver, and Wilkes, received (24th June), by a vote of the common council, cups in commemoration of their exertions in behalf of the printers, but the public expressed no particular sensation on the occasion. Wilkes and Bull, the sheriffs, on completing the first six months of their office (6th April) affectedly addressed the livery, with a congratulation that the number of unhappy objects under their care in jails and prisons had not been increased by any *illegal royal proclamation*, or commitments during pleasure made by either House of Parliament. This manœuvre was also disregarded.

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was assailed during the latter part of her life excited only a virtuous indignation in the King against her factious calumniators, and increased his affection for her, as he considered her ease and happiness a sacrifice to the turbulence of those whose principal enmity was levelled at the proceedings of his government. Her death was sudden, and took place in the fifty-fourth year of her age.

Revolution in Denmark.

An event which occurred in another part of the world, affected the King in a most sensible manner, as the honour of his sister was involved in suspicion, and she was far removed from the sphere of his protection, and from the still greater blessing of those equitable tribunals, where every one, without protection, may defy oppression, and, fortified with conscious innocence, surmount the efforts of malicious confederacy. The marriage of the Princess Caroline Matilda with Christian VII. King of Denmark, was hailed as an event which promised to strengthen the Protestant interest, and produce commercial benefits to the British nation: in every personal view it was ominous and inauspicious, being one of those alliances in which neither similarity of disposition, nor any other requisites, were found to ensure felicity. Christian, contemptible for his imbecility and credulity, abandoned himself to irregularities of every kind, too puerile, effeminate, and dissolute for commemoration [d]. Among his favourites was Struensee, a man of obscure birth, but no inconsiderable talent; he was bred a physician, but uniting with his medical acquirements some knowledge of the civil law, he obtained rapid promotion at the court of Copenhagen, and was raised to the office of prime minister. His principal coadjutor was Brandt, a youth of noble birth and conspicuous courage, but inferior in talents to Struensee. The Queen Dowager of Denmark, Julia-Maria, entertained a dislike against her daughter-in-law, arising principally from her wish to direct the

[d] See Gibbon's Posthumous Works, vol. i. p. 445.

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reins of government, and ſecure the ſucceſſion to the crown to her younger ſon, Prince Frederick, in both which objects ſhe conſidered Matilda a principal obſtacle. The mental and corporeal weakneſs of the King rendered him abjectly paſſive; and it became the point of conteſt whether the Queen Conſort, or the Queen Mother, ſhould govern the kingdom in his name. The emiſſaries of Julia-Maria exerted every artifice to prejudice the people againſt the young Queen, and ſucceeded in exciting jealouſies and ſuſpicions of the moſt odious nature. The favour enjoyed by Struenſee was a ſource of diſſatisfaction to many of the courtiers who ſtrengthened the oppoſing party: Struenſee's own imprudence, and the unſuſpicious diſpoſition of Matilda, afforded great advantages; and at length a conſpiracy was formed for ſeizing her, Struenſee, Brandt, and all their adherents. This project was executed after a grand maſked ball at the royal palace. Struenſee and Brandt precipitated in a moment from the ſummit of power, were caſt into priſon, loaded with fetters, and finally, after undergoing great indignities, yielded up their lives on a ſcaffold.

25th and 26th Jan.

THE unfortunate Queen, having performed the tendereſt of maternal duties, was retired to reſt, when, at five o'clock in the morning, ſhe was awaked by a female attendant, who preſented to her the King's order to remove for a few days to one of the royal palaces in the country. The Queen comprehending at once the nature and extent of her misfortune, ruſhed from her bed, and ſought the preſence of her huſband; but at the ſight of Count Rantzau, one of her enemies, in the antichamber, ſhe recollected the neceſſity of attending to her dreſs, which ſhe had totally forgot, and retired to her chamber to remedy the indecorum; but when ſhe again attempted to go out found her paſſage impeded by an officer, placed by Rantzau for that purpoſe. She overcame this obſtacle, as well as the impediment of two ſoldiers, who

who croſſed their firelocks at the door of the anti-chamber; but when, with great difficulty, ſhe reached the King's apartment, he had been removed to another part of the palace. This precaution the conſpirators adopted from fear of the Queen's influence; the King was with great difficulty prevailed on to ſanction their meaſures; a moment's interview would have fruſtrated all their plans, and rolled back the ſtream of ruin on themſelves. Matilda's misfortune was now complete; ſhe was ſurrounded by enemies, who ſeeing her entirely in their power, treated her with ſarcaſtic inſolence; ſhe was driven with the utmoſt rapidity to the caſtle of Cronſburgh, diſtant about twenty-four miles from Copenhagen, and there confined. CHAP. XIX. 1772.

AFTER the execution of Struenſee and Brandt, the Queen Dowager's party ſhowed a diſpoſition to proceed to ſimilar extremities againſt Matilda, but they were deterred by the reſolute interference of George III. Articles were undoubtedly exhibited againſt her, and examinations taken, but to what they amounted cannot at preſent be exactly known. The common report was, that the articles ſuppoſed to be proved were ſent to London, and ſubmitted to the examination of the moſt eminent civilians, who though conſulted ſeparately, unanimouſly declared, that the evidence, far from amounting to legal conviction, did not ſanction a preſumption of guilt; and they added, they did not only refuſe credit to the facts, as lawyers, but were obliged to diſbelieve them as men.

THIS contemptible triumph over a depraved and debilitated monarch, and an artleſs and unſuſpecting Queen, is called the Revolution in Denmark. The powerful and ſpirited interpoſition of the Britiſh crown procured the Queen's releaſe in about four months after her confinement in the fortreſs of Cronſburgh. She was conveyed, under the eſcort of a Britiſh ſquadron, to Stade, in the Hanoverian dominions, and was afterward removed to the caſtle of May.

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of Zell, where the liberality of the King, her brother, provided her a becoming houſehold, and where ſhe lived in a ſtate of honourable retirement till a premature death terminated her days at the age of twenty-four [e].

[e] 10th May 1774. In the preceding account I have principally conſulted Wraxall's memoirs of the courts of Berlin, Dreſden, Warſaw, and Vienna, in the years 1777, 1778, and 1779, vol. i. letter 2. The following account of the unfortunate Queen's removal and ſubſequent conduct, given by Mr. Coxe, in his Travels in Poland, &c. book ix. chap. i. is ſufficiently intereſting to ſuſpend for a moment the ſtrict duty of the hiſtorian, and gratify the reader by an affecting view of ſuffering majeſty. "During her confinement (at Cronſburgh) ſhe inhabited the governor's apartment, and had permiſſion to walk upon the ſide-batteries, or upon the leads of the tower. She was uncertain of the fate that awaited her; and had great reaſon to apprehend, that the party which had occaſioned her arreſt meditated ſtill more violent meaſures. When the Engliſh miniſter at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement, which he had obtained by his ſpirited conduct, ſhe was ſo ſurpriſed with the unexpected intelligence, that ſhe inſtantly burſt into a flood of tears, embraced him in a tranſport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a ſhort conference, the miniſter propoſed that Her Majeſty ſhould immediately embark on board of a ſhip that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom in which ſhe had experienced ſuch a train of misfortunes. But however anxious ſhe was to depart, one circumſtance checked the exceſs of her joy; a few months before her impriſonment ſhe had been delivered of a princeſs, whom ſhe ſuckled herſelf. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort; and ſhe had conceived a more than parental attachment to it, from its having been the conſtant companion of her miſery. The infant was at that period afflicted with the meaſles; and having nurſed it with unceaſing ſolicitude, ſhe was deſirous of continuing her attention and care. All theſe circumſtances had ſo endeared the child to her, rendered more ſuſceptible of tenderneſs in a priſon than in a court, that when an order for detaining the young princeſs was intimated to her, ſhe teſtified the ſtrongeſt emotions of grief, and could not, for ſome time, be prevailed upon to bid a final adieu. At length, after beſtowing repeated careſſes upon this darling object of her affection, ſhe retired to the veſſel in an agony of deſpair. She remained upon deck, her eyes immovable directed toward the palace of Cronſburgh, which contained her child that had been her only comfort, until darkneſs intercepted the view. The veſſel having made but little way during the night, at day-break ſhe obſerved with ſond ſatisfaction that the palace was ſtill viſible, and could not be perſuaded to enter the cabin as long as ſhe could diſcover the ſlighteſt glimpſe of the battlements. Queen Matilda," the ſame elegant author continues, "was naturally of a lively diſpoſition, until her misfortunes brought on a ſettled melancholy, which preyed upon her mind. In company ſhe endeavoured to diſſemble her ſorrows, and aſſume a cheerfulneſs to which her heart was a ſtranger. She became extremely fond of ſolitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the moſt bitter lamentations. She retained, to her laſt moments, the moſt unaffected attachment to her children in Denmark: with all the anxiety of a parent, ſhe made repeated inquiries after them; and was delighted with receiving the minuteſt accounts of their health, amuſement, and education. Having obtained their portraits from Copenhagen, ſhe placed them in her moſt retired apartment; often apoſtrophized them as if they were preſent; and addreſſed them in the tendereſt manner."

APPENDIX I.

LETTERS between Lord BUTE and Lord MELCOMBE, on the ſtate of Parties and Politics, previous to and during Lord BUTE's Adminiſtration.

MR. DODINGTON TO LORD BUTE.

(Extract.) *22d December*, 1760.

THE more I think of the converſation of laſt Saturday about ſingle reſignations, or even combined aggreſſions, the more I am confirmed in my opinion that nothing ſhould be done that can juſtly be imputed to precipitation, nothing delayed that can be imputed to fear of them. This I ſay in caſe of aggreſſion, which I think and hope will never happen. However, as I think they will drop off ere long, you will be pleaſed to think only with yourſelf, and your royal maſter, of proper perſons to fill up the firſt rank with you in caſe of death or deſertion.

REMEMBER, my noble and generous friend, that to recover monarchy from the inveterate uſurpation of oligarchy is a point too arduous and important to be achieved without much difficulty, and ſome degree of danger; though none but what attentive moderation and unalterable firmneſs will certainly ſurmount.

Paper read by Mr. Dodington to Lord Bute.

16th January, 1761.

IF the intelligence they bring me be true, Mr. Pitt goes down faſt in the city, and faſter at this end of the town: they add, you riſe daily.

THIS may not be true: but if he ſinks, you will obſerve his ſyſtem ſinks with him, and that there is nothing to replace it but recalling the troops and leaving Hanover in depoſit.

IF this ſhould come to be the caſe, and you cannot make a ſeparate peace upon the preſent foot, it ſeems not far off,

off, either from abſolute neceſſity, or from the arrogance of thoſe whoſe preſumption and court to the cloſet firſt plunged us into this diſtreſs, or from the united voice of the moſt affectionate of His Majeſty's ſubjects. Should not a meaſure ſo extremely popular as the ſacrificing that country to this for a time, to ſecure an honourable and advantageous peace, both which experience has ſhewn cannot be done by ſacrificing this country to that: ſhould not then a meaſure ſo endearing, ſo much beyond the moſt ſanguine expectations three months ago, come immediately from the King, and, by his order, be carried into execution by the hands in which he places his whole confidence? Be pleaſed to reflect a moment on this, and prepare yourſelf for this event, if neceſſity, preſumption, or the voice of the nation ſhould force it upon you.

Lord Melcombe to Lord Bute; on Mr. Pitt's reſignation.

(Extract.) 6th October, 1761.

I SINCERELY wiſh your Lordſhip joy of being delivered of a moſt impracticable colleague, His Majeſty of a moſt imperious ſervant, and the country of a moſt dangerous miniſter. I am told that the people are ſullen about it.

Lord Bute to Lord Melcombe.

8th October, 1761.

My dear Lord,

WHATEVER private motives of uneaſineſs I might have in the late adminiſtration, I am far from thinking the diſſolution of it favourable in the preſent minute to the King's affairs. Without entering into the cauſes of the war, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it was a national one, and that the honour of the nation is pledged to ſupport its allies. You, my dear Lord, cannot diſlike it more than I do; but, as we have to do with a moſt treacherous enemy, whoſe infamous prevarications have been ſo lately experienced, we muſt act with redoubled vigour and ſpirit before we can hope to bring them to ſuch a peace as, from our repeated conqueſts, this country has a right to expect, ſuch a peace as I (with this load of reſponſibility) durſt put my name to. This being ſo, the change of a miniſter cannot, at preſent, make any remarkable change in meaſures. I ſigh after peace, but will not ſue for it: not out of pride or from motives of ſelf-preſervation, (though both might without

without diſhonour be urged) but from a thorough conviction that begging it from France is not the way to procure it. Indeed, my good Lord, my ſituation, at all times perilous, is become much more ſo, for I am no ſtranger to the language held in this great city: *our darling's reſignation* is owing to Lord Bute, who might have prevented it with the King, and he muſt anſwer for all the conſequences; which is, in other words, for the miſcarriage of another's ſyſtem, that he (Pitt) himſelf could not have prevented. All this keeps up my attention, ſtrengthens my mind without alarming it, and not only whiſpers caution, but ſteadineſs and reſolution.

Lord Melcombe to Lord Bute, (in anſwer.)

8th October 1761.

I LOOK upon the late event as an obſtacle removed, not as added, when peace is to be treated. Your Lordſhip may remember ſome months ago I ſaid I thought Mr. Pitt would never make peace, becauſe he could never make ſuch a peace as he had taught the nation to expect. I ſuppoſe he now ſees that we are within a year or two of an impracticability of carrying on the war upon the preſent footing, and may think, by going out upon a ſpirited pretence, to turn the attention and diſſatisfaction of the public on thoſe, who, at a ruinous expence, are to carry on his wild meaſures, and whom they have been taught to diſlike by a total abandonment of the preſs to him and his creatures, which I humbly hope you will now think proper to employ better.

I CAN ſay nothing to the treachery and prevarication of France in the late negotiation, being totally ignorant of all thoſe tranſactions. I entirely agree with you that we muſt act with redoubled vigour in carrying on the war, to obtain a proper peace; but it may be a doubt whether carrying it on in the ſame manner may be prudent, or even long practicable.

I ALSO agree with your Lordſhip that where honour is pledged it muſt be maintained; but whether, after what we have done to ſupport our allies, we cannot maintain it at a leſs expence than ruin to ourſelves without effect to them, may be worthy of conſideration. I am ſenſible I am writing upon a ſubject I am no ways informed about. The mention made of it in your letter drew me into it. I have done. As you approve of the war, in what manner ſoever you carry it on, I ſhall never ſay one word more againſt it, public or private, but will ſupport it whenever I am called

on, as well as my diſtance from the ſcene of buſineſs will allow me. I told you I would do ſo (after having told you my opinion) when you did me the honour to command me to be your friend. Indeed, my dear Lord, I wiſh and mean to ſerve you, and am ſure I never will diſſerve you, which is, I fear, as far as my poor abilities are likely to go. I am glad the King has given the ſeals; and as you approve of it I ſuppoſe they are well diſpoſed of. The ſooner it is public the better. I wiſh they had been given as ſoon as they were reſumed.

I THINK there can be nothing in the Houſe of Commons: if there ſhould, Mr. Grenville, no doubt, will do his beſt. I fear he is not very popular there; but you have friends there that are ſo, and very able too. The inſolence of the city is intolerable. They muſt, and they eaſily may be taught better manners. I was bred a monarchy man, and will die ſo; and I do not underſtand that men of that rank are to demand reaſons of meaſures, while they are under His Majeſty's conſideration. As to you, my dear Lord, I am ſure you laugh at them, and know that the moment they are threatened with the King's diſpleaſure, thoſe who *were* at your throat will be at your feet.

Lord Bute to Lord Melcombe, in anſwer to a letter of reproach on the refuſal of a Requeſt.

8th February 1762.

* * * IN ſhort, my Lord, though I cannot prevent umbrage being taken at my not ſatisfying every wiſh, I ſhall certainly hinder any reaſonable ground of complaint concerning things I have once promiſed. I own, and without bluſhing, I have been very unfortunate in the means I have for years taken, of cementing friendſhips and procuring attachments. Others with much leſs trouble, perhaps, without my ſincerity, ſucceed better; but I repine not; conſcious of my own feelings, conſcious of deſerving better treatment, I ſhall go on, though ſingle and alone, to ſerve my King and country in the beſt manner my poor talents will allow me; happy, too happy, when the heavy burden that I bear ſhall be removed, and placed on other ſhoulders.

Lord Melcombe to Lord Bute.

13th April 1762.

* * * THE people are intoxicated with conqueſts: his partizans take effectual care to combine the idea of Mr. Pitt

Pitt with it. His party riſes: they attack you publicly, in all converſations, and now in writing, perſonally, in the moſt audacious manner, reproach you with following his example. Does the body of office aſſiſt them in all this? No.—Does it lift a finger againſt them?—Yet leſs. They obſerve a worſe than Spaniſh neutrality, and though 'tis probable they may have no compact with your enemy, yet they will not, moſt certainly, ſhew you their compact among themſelves, as they find they are in no danger of your declaring war. Would they then have Mr. Pitt again? No—but they deſire to have that phantom followed enough to intimidate you, if you offer to break through their meaſures of government, or interfere with their diſpoſition of the emoluments of it, by which alone they know they can be defeated. But if you were to go too faſt in the one, or meddle at all with the other, they would, in my opinion, rather have Mr. Pitt than you, becauſe they would think, in the firſt place, that he muſt be a little humbled by adverſity, and, in the next, that they could better ſtruggle with his popularity, tranſitory and ill-founded, than with your credit with the King, built on the ſolid foundation of honour as well as inclination.

* * * I DO indeed moſt earneſtly inſiſt upon a totally new ſyſtem, and that cannot take place without new hands; for theſe cannot give up the old one without paſſing condemnation on themſelves, the authors of it, for ſervile and intereſted purpoſes.

APPENDIX II.

CORRESPONDENCE relative to the diſcontinuance of the PRUSSIAN SUBSIDY.

The King of Pruſſia, to King George III.

à Breſlaw ce 22 Janv. 1762.

Monſieur mon frere,

LA longueur de la Campagne derniere, et differentes fatalités ſurvenuës de ſuite, m'ont empéché d'ecrire plutôt à Votre Majeſté. A preſent voila l'imperatrice de Ruſſie morte, et le Grand Duc qui m'a temoigné en toute occaſion de l'amitie eſt ſur le trône. Je ſuis perſuadé que pour peu que le Sieur Keith ſache profiter de ces cir-

conſtances, qu'il en pourra tirer un parti avantageux. Pour moi, je ne doute pas que cette année ci ne ſoit plus heureuſe que les precedentes, et ne nous mette en etat d'obliger nos ennemis à des conditions de paix plus honorables pour nous que les loix arrogantes, qu'ils vouloient nous preſcrire. La declaration de guerre des Eſpagnols eſt, ſelon moi, avantageuſe à l'Angleterre, en ce que la grande ſuperiorité de la flotte Britannique trionfera des Eſpagnols comme des François. Quelle gloire pour le regne de Vôtre Majeſté de rendre par là ſa nation la dominatrice des mers, ſans contradictions, et à nous tous d'avoir reſiſtés, et de nous être ſoutenus contre les forces réunies de toute l'Europe! Il n'eſt queſtion que d'un peu de conſtance et de fermété pour terminer cette funeſte guerre à l'avantage de l'Angleterre et de ſes alliés; mais il faut perſeverer jusqu' au bout; je vois encore difficultés ſans nombre; elles m'encouragent au lieu de me rebuter, par l'eſperance de les vaincre. Perſonne ne prend plus d' interêt que moi à la gloire et à la proſperité de Vôtre Majeſté; je la prie d'en être convaincuë, ainſi que de la haute eſtime avec laquelle je ſuis,

Monſieur mon frere,

de Vôtre Majeſté

le bon frere,

Federic.

Lord Bute to Meſſrs. Keith and Wroughton.

St. James's, 23d February 1762.

Gentlemen,

All the letters which I have received from Keith, ſince the late great event, have been already acknowledged. I congratulate you very ſincerely upon the ſymptoms which have hitherto appeared of a change in the meaſures of your court, ſo greatly to be wiſhed, for the good of Europe. At the ſame time I cannot but acquaint you with the particular pleaſure and ſatisfaction with which the King received your accounts of the very friendly diſpoſition of the preſent Emperor towards His Pruſſian Majeſty, his viſible diſinclination towards France, and above all his intention to do all in his power towards bringing about a peace between the powers at war, upon reaſonable terms.

This was the moſt capital point in the inſtructions which His Majeſty commanded me to ſend you, upon the firſt view of the late Empreſs's death. And it is ſtill that which the King would have you recommend with the greateſt zeal,

zeal, and in which we hope that His Imperial Majeſty will employ all his credit and influence, and eſpecially with the King of Pruſſia. The reports which you have made, and thoſe which we have received from Mr. Mitchell, of the good proſpect of a ſpeedy reconciliation between thoſe two courts, muſt undoubtedly give pleaſure here; but I muſt at the ſame time obſerve to you, that it ariſes chiefly from the hope and expectation that His Pruſſian Majeſty will be earneſtly exhorted by the Emperor, rather to put an end, by reaſonable and proper terms, to his war with the Empreſs Queen, than encouraged by him to perſiſt in it.

I am, with great truth and regard,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Bute.

Lord Bute to Meſſieurs Knyphauſen and Mitchell.

à St. James's, ce 26 Fevrier 1762.

Meſſieurs,

Comme vous ſembliez ſouhaiter d'etre mis en etat de depecher vôtre courier ce ſoir même, je n'ai pas voulu differer de m'informer de la reponſe qu'il plairoit au Roi que je vous rendiſſe ſur les inſtances preſſantes que vous avez faites dernierement au ſujet du ſubſidie; et l'ayant fait ce matin je vais en conſequence, vous faire part des intentions de ſa Majeſté la deſſus, afin d'eviter les mepriſes qui ſe peuvent gliſſer dans les rapports de ce qui ſe traite en des conferences, et pour que vous en puiſſiez rendre un compte authentique au Roi votre maitre.

Je vous dirai donc que Sa Majeſté ſe trouve encore portée d'inclination, comme auparavant de fournir l'aide pecuniaire en queſtion au Roi de Pruſſe, mais comme le grand evenement que nous avous vu arriver dans le nord à operé un changement qui ſemble promettre les plus grandes facilités à Sa dite Majeſté pour l'amelioration de ſa ſitution preſente en la tirant de ces dangers multipliés auxquels elle s'etoit trouvée expoſée, le Roi ſouhaiteroit que le ſecours qu'il voudroit preter à ce prince, dût plutôt aider á la concluſion de la paix qu' à la continuation de la guerre.

C'est dans cette vue que Sa Majeſté a attendu avec tant d'impatience la lettre que vous avez tant de fois annoncée de la part du Roi de Pruſſe, comme auſſi les ecclairciſſemens qu'elle avoit demandée par le canal de ſon miniſtre à Magdebourg.

Les voila enfin arrivés ces depeches de M. Mitchell, mais ſans avoir apporté la moindre ouverture dans aucun des points eſſentiels qui en ſont le ſujet, qui pût ſatisfaire à la juſte attente du Roi. Je ſuis obligé d'en dire autant par rapport à ce que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me communiquer des inſtructions de Sa Majeſté Pruſſienne qui ne s'ouvre le moins du monde au ſujet des conditions particulieres, ſur leſquelles elle voudroit conclure la paix; ſe bornant au contraire, aux expreſſions generales de ſa diſpoſition à conclure ſur un pied qui ſeroit conforme à ſes interéts et à ſa gloire.

Il eſt vrai que par une lettre de plus fraiche datte Mr. Mitchell nous apprend la miſſion d'une perſonne accreditée et munie des plein pouvoirs du dit Roi à la cour de Ruſſie, et que Sa Majeſté a bien voulu lui faire ſavoir que c'etoit pour s'en ſervir ſi l'occaſion ſe preſentoit. Elle ne s'explique pas d'avantage, et ne fait la moindre communication au Roi des inſtructions particulieres, qu'elle auroit données à ce miniſtre.

Vous jugez bien, meſſieurs, qu'un ſilence ſi extraordinaire par rapport à un objet qui intereſſe les deux cours a un tel point ne ſauroit etre regardé qu'avec beaucoup de ſurpriſe par ſa Majeſté; je vous aſſure pourtant qu'il ne l'a nullement fait changer de reſolution. Mais elle continue d'eſperer que le Roi vôtre maître ſe determinera enfin à lui faire part de ſes idées au ſujet de la paix; et elle ſe flatte en même tems qu'elle les trouvera propres à faciliter l'obtien de ce but tant deſirable.

Des que le Roi aura eu cette conſolation, il ne ſe perdra pas un jour à moyenner à Sa dite Majeſté, la remiſe des 670,000 livres ſterling. Et comme ces ſentimens et cette intention du Roi, ne ſont ſeulement raiſonnables en eux mêmes, mais qu'ils ſe trouvent auſſi marqués au coin de l'amitié et de l'attention les plus parfaites envers Sa Majeſté Pruſſienne, je me flatte qu'une telle ouverture ne ſauroit manquer d'être reçue avec la même cordialité, avec la quelle on la fait, et qu'il y ſera repondu d'une maniere à lever toutes les difficultés qui ſubſiſtent actuellement; evenement qui me rejouira infiniment en mon particulier.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre,

avec la conſideration la plus parfaite,

Bute.

The

The King of Pruſſia to King George III.

à Breſlaw, ce 12 Mars 1762.

Monſieur mon frere,

Les nouvelles qui viennent de Peterſbourg depuis la mort de l'imperatrice ſont ſi favorables que je les communique avec joye à Votre Majeſté. Le nouvel Empereur eſt entierement diſpoſé à la paix. Les ſoins de M. Keith ont beaucoup contribué à entretenir cette diſpoſition avantageuſe. J'ai envoyé le Baron Goltz à Peterſbourg pour complimenter ce Prince ſur ſon avenement au trône, et il eſt en même tems chargé de plein pouvoirs pour ſigner la paix, ſi l'Empereur y conſent. Cette negotiation paſſe par les mains de M. Keith: L'Angleterre n'a pas été en guerre contre le Ruſſie, et les interêts de Votre Majeſté ne peuvent rien ſouffrir de cette paix de ſorte que je n'ai aucun reproche à me faire, et je ſuis même perſuadé qu'elle ſera bien aiſe de cet evenement: Voilà la grande alliance ſeparée; c'eſt un tres grand article; ſi avec cela nous parvenons à pouſſer la cour de Vienne vigoureuſement, il faudra bien qu'elle prenne enfin des ſentimens plus modérés qu'elle n'en a marqué juſqu'ici, et ſon conſentement à la paix entrainera infailliblement celui de la France. J'ai regardé de tout tems la reine de Hongrie comme la promotrice de la guerre preſente et Votre Majeſté verra que la guerre ne finira que lorſque cette Princeſſe commencera à craindre pour ſes propres etats. Je ſouhaite d'avoir toujours des nouvelles agréables à marquer à Votre Majeſté; je la prie cependant de croire que perſonne ne prend plus que moi de part à ſes interêts, etant avec le plus grand attachement.

Monſieur mon frere,
De Votre Majeſté
Le bon frere,
Federic.

George III. *to the King of Pruſſia.*
(Anſwer.)

Monſieur mon frere,

En remerciant Votre Majeſté des deux lettres qu'elle a pris la peine de m'ecrire le 22 de Janvier, et le 12 du courant, je la felicite très ſincérement de l'heureux changement arrivé en Ruſſie, et particulierement ſur la declaration, faite, le 23 du mois paſſé, par cet Empereur aux cours de Vienne, de Verſailles, et de Stockholm. La reſolution qu'a

priſe ce digne Prince de faire connoitre à tout le monde ſes ſentimens par rapport à la guerre preſente, et ſon intention de contribuer, de tout ſon poſſible, au retabliſſement d'une paix generale, m'a été infiniment agréable; et ma façon de penſer ſur ces grands objects y correſpond entierement, je ne manquerai pas de cooperer, par tout ce qui pourra dependre de mes ſoins, à un deſſein ſi ſalutaire. En même tems, je prie Vôtre Majeſté d'etre perſuadée, que je ſouhaite toujours egalement de pourvoir à ſon aſſiſtance. Elle voit pourtant combien mes facultés diminuent de jour à autre, en ſuite de la nouvelle guerre, où je me trouve engagé, et des ſecours indiſpenſables pour le ſoutien de mon bon et ancien allié le Roi de Portugal. Ce n'eſt pas que des que Vôtre Majeſté m'aura confié les moyens, dont elle propoſe de ſe ſervir pour l'obtention de la paix, je ne ſois reſolu de faire tout ce qui ſera en mon pouvoir pour aider à ſa réuſſite, Je ſuis, avec la plus parfaite eſtime et affection,

Monſieur mon frere,

De Votre Majeſté

à St. James, Le bon frere,

ce 30 Mars 1762. *George R.*

Lord Bute to Mr. Mitchell.

St. James's, 26th March 1762.

* * The Pruſſian miniſters having yeſterday acquainted me that they had information from their court, of ſome overtures ſuppoſed to have been privately made from hence to the court of Vienna, and having deſired that I would communicate the particulars for their maſter's ſatisfaction: In order to enable them to ſet the matter in a true light, I gave them a ſight of the precis of the King's order of the 12th of January laſt, to Sir Joſeph Yorke. It is to be hoped that Meſſrs. Knyphauſen and Mitchell will make the proper uſe of this communication towards removing any ill-grounded ſuſpicions which may have been conceived by the King of Pruſſia, with regard to a ſtep calculated for procuring, if poſſible, an information that might prove beneficial to the common cauſe: a ſtep perfectly inoffenſive to every power engaged in it, and which was ſo far from being taken with a view to prejudice his Pruſſian Majeſty's particular intereſts, or even being attended with any neglect of them, that it carried upon the very face of it a ſuggeſtion thrown out with an eye to turn the Empreſs's thoughts to obtaining in another part what might ſerve as

an

an equivalent to her pretenſions in Sileſia. But to obviate any failure therein on their part, the King has ordered me to ſend the above extract at all events to you, that you may repreſent in its true colours, and juſtify the rectitude of His Majeſty's intentions.

For your own further information, and to put it in your power to rectify, upon occaſion, any miſconception of the tendency and reſult of the inſinuations that were made in conſequence of the King's intimation to Sir Joſeph Yorke, I encloſe copies of his anſwer likewiſe, and of that which was returned through the canal of M. Reiſchach, on the part of the Empreſs Queen.

Lord Bute to Mr. Mitchell.

St. James's, 30th March 1762.

In my laſt I acquainted you with the complaint made here by Meſſieurs Knyphauſen and Mitchell, of ſome ſuppoſed ſecret overtures on our part to the court of Vienna, and I then explained the matter to you from the beginning to the end. I am now to add, that though they gave that intelligence a turn as if they had received it from their own court, yet we know with certainty that they picked it up here. And as it appears from their way of talking upon that ſubject to me, but more eſpecially from what they ſaid to the Duke of Newcaſtle, that they will probably have made a handle of it to inflame the mind of their maſter, the King thinks it expedient for his ſervice, as well in reſpect to this affair as to many others, that you ſhould repair forthwith to Breſlaw, where you will lay the whole of that buſineſs before the King of Pruſſia: communicating to him the letters ſent you by the laſt poſt, as containing the King's original orders to Sir Joſeph Yorke, which gave birth to it, and which you may aſſure him are the very orders that were given, and not a part only or abſtract of them: and you will give His Pruſſian Majeſty to underſtand, that, ſo far from diſavowing ſuch a ſtep, the King is ſo fully perſuaded of its inoffenſiveneſs, and of his right to take ſuch a ſtep, that His Majeſty has no deſire to conceal what paſſed in that tranſaction, either from him or any body elſe. Though you muſt take care that the communication which you make of it to His Pruſſian Majeſty may appear in its true light, viz. that of a particular attention to His Pruſſian Majeſty, and totally different from an excuſe, which the King will by no means believe can be expected from him on ſuch an occaſion.

Neither

Neither does His Majeſty comprehend what title the Pruſſian miniſters had to complain of any application which he may have thought fit to make to the Empreſs Queen, of a nature like this now in queſtion, entirely foreign to any of the King of Pruſſia's concerns. The conduct therefore of thoſe miniſters upon the preſent occaſion is juſtly diſpleaſing to His Majeſty, and it is his pleaſure that you ſhould expreſs to the King of Pruſſia his deſire, that they may be inſtructed to proceed with a greater degree of caution for the future. You will execute theſe inſtructions in your audience of His Pruſſian Majeſty in their fulleſt ſenſe, and without any ſoftening, ſince in the manner wherein the affair has been treated here by the gentlemen above mentioned, the King's honour is concerned.

Lord Bute to Mr. Mitchell.

St. James's, 9th April 1762.

Sir,

THE reſerved and unfriendly manner in which the King has been treated by His Pruſſian Majeſty, in reſpect to Mr. Goltz's miſſion to Peterſburg, cannot but be very ſenſibly felt by His Majeſty. It was determined at firſt without previous communication, we were told, that he went with compliments, or at moſt with general inſtructions for a reconciliation between the two courts; and when it was owned that he had full powers, ſtill he was to open every thing to Mr. Keith, and to take no ſtep but in concert with him It now comes out, by Mr. Keith's letters of the 11th paſt, that Mr. Goltz has been negotiating, upon affairs of the higheſt conſequence, with the Emperor, and that, without the leaſt degree of participation with His Majeſty. No leſs a point than that of giving His Pruſſian Majeſty as guaranty for Sleſwick, in exchange for that of Sileſia, was in agitation; and, by Mr. Keith's account, we may expect to hear that a treaty has been concluded upon that foot, ſome weeks ſince; a treaty wherein the King of Pruſſia muſt know, that it would be impoſſible for His Majeſty to take any part, conſiſtently with the engagements of his crown to that of Denmark.

THERE is therefore no longer cauſe for ſurpriſe, though there is certainly a great one for complaint, with reſpect to the dead ſilence of your court, and their concealment from His Majeſty's knowledge of ſuch meaſures, as, inſtead of promoting his pacific views, according to the general aſſurances given of the King of Pruſſia's intentions, have the greateſt

greateſt tendency to ſpread the flames of war, and increaſe the miſeries of mankind.

With the conſciouſneſs, however, of this unjuſtifiable treatment of the King our maſter, His Pruſſian Majeſty has ſtill continued to direct his Miniſters here, if I may judge from their conſtant repreſentation, to preſs the payment of his former ſubſidy: but the condition upon which the King has declared, both by my letter to them, and by His Majeſty's to that Prince, that he was ready to give it, was the employment of it towards the procurement of peace, and not towards the continuation of war; and I cannot conceal from you, that to ſee the bounty of this nation converted to ſo pernicious a uſe as that of fomenting new troubles in Europe, would be of all things the moſt diſagreeable to his Majeſty.

The King muſt therefore receive farther intelligence, and ſee more clearly what uſe is intended to be made of any ſubſidy which he might be induced to give, before he can determine to give any at all. And this pauſe on reſolving upon that important queſtion, is ſo much the more neceſſary, as, in caſe His Pruſſian Majeſty's treaty with Ruſſia be actually concluded, and the weight of that empire taken conſequently out of the oppoſite ſcale, he will then, if he continues in the ſame mind in which he was when you wrote your letters to Lord Holderneſſe, of the months of June and July 1756, have ſo little occaſion for any aſſiſtance from England, that he might even be ready to furniſh a body of troops for His Majeſty's defence. This was the King of Pruſſia's language to you, upon the ſuppoſition of our barely preventing his being attacked by Ruſſia. With how much more reaſon then may the Engliſh ſubſidy be diſpenſed with, if he ſhall have obtained not only the neutrality of the Ruſſian Emperor, but even his guaranty for the duchy of Sileſia? You are commanded, therefore, by His Majeſty, to repreſent the purport and ſubſtance of what is above to the King of Pruſſia, but in the way of a cool and diſpaſſionate remonſtrance, and with very particular caution in what relates to his guaranty of Sleſwick; not to put it in his power to hurt His Majeſty's intereſt at the court of Ruſſia, by repreſenting there, that his engagement, if he has contracted one with the Emperor for aſſiſting him in his deſigns upon Denmark, is like to coſt him his ſubſidy from England; or if he has not, by charging his refuſal to do it, upon the King's withholding that ſuccour. You will let me know very particularly all that paſſes upon this execution of your orders.

In

In regard to your notion expreſſed in your laſt, both to Count Finckenſtein and me, of the King's ſoliciting His Pruſſian Majeſty's aſſiſtance in diſſuading the Czar, by their joint good offices, from proceeding to hoſtilities againſt Denmark, you will ſee by the encloſed copy of what I am writing to Mr. Keith, that His Majeſty would willingly concur in ſuch diſſuaſion, but he ſees no hopes of any weight being added to them from the repreſentations of a power, who, ſuppoſing the guaranty of Sileſia to have been purchaſed by him, at the expence of a reciprocal one for Sleſwick, will have taken a ſtep ſo well calculated to deſtroy the whole effect of every pacific remonſtrance.

I am, &c.

Bute.

Tranſactions with the Court of Vienna, (encloſed in Lord Bute's diſpatch) of the 9th of April 1762.

Precis des inſtructions données par la depeche de S. E. le Comte de Bute à M. le Chevalier Yorke, du 12 Janvier 1762.

A cette occaſion (viz. de la publication du pacte de famille entre le France et l'Eſpagne, et du danger qui menace le royaume de Portugal) le Roi ſeroit bien aiſe que votre excellence pût trouver quelque canal convenable pour ſonder les ſentimens de la cour de Vienne, afin que Sa Majeſté ſache s'il y a lieu d'eſperer de voir revivre dans l'eſprit de l'imperatrice les craintes bien fondées qu'ont conçu tous ſes auguſtes predeceſſeurs de la puiſſance enorme et dangereuſe de la maiſon de Bourbon: et ſi elle ne s'alarmeroit pas à la vue de l'invaſion dont le Portugal eſt menacé auſſi bien que des dangers qui ſont juſtement à apprehender pour ſes propres etats en Italie: ou bien ſi elle ne ſeroit pas capable de ſe laiſſer flatter de l'eſperance de quelque acquiſition ulterieure dans ce quartier en cas qu'elle reſolut à ſe joindre aux puiſſances, qui pourroient vouloir oppoſer les projets pernicieux de la France et de l'Eſpagne.

Precis de la reponſe de M. l'ambaſſadeur Yorke à la lettre du Comte de Bute, du 12 Janvier.—Dateé à la Haye, 19th Janvier 1762.

Par le canal dont je me ſuis ſervi, ſelon les ordres de v. E. du 12 de ce mois pour ſonder les ſentimens de Sa Majeſté l'imperatice reine par rapport à l'Union formidable

de

de la maiſon de Bourbon, j'eſpere d'apprendre quelque choſe : et il eſt à preſumer qu'au cas que cette princeſſe trouve à redire au pacte de famille elle ne s'en cachera pas long tems. On en verra des indices et il ne ſera pas difficile en ce cas de trouver moyen d'etre mis au fait plus particulierement de ſes intentions. Et comme la guerre ou elle ſe trouve engagée avec le Roi de Pruſſe fait le premier et principal objet de ſon attention, rien ne conduiroit plus ſurement à la connoiſſance que l'on ſouhaite de ſe procurer des ſentimens réels de cette cour qui ſi on etoit en etat de lui faire quelque ouverture de la part de Sa Majeſté Pruſſienne.

Extrait traduit d'une apoſtille à la lettre du Comte de Kaunitz au Baron de Reiſchach.—Datée de Vienne le 3 Mars, 1762.

Si l'on veut conſiderer attentivement le contenu des memoires qui ont été remis, de part et d'autre, à la cour d'Angleterre, dans l'année 1755, et ſur tout ſi l'on veut relire avec attention le plan que M le Comte Charles de Colloredo, a communiqué au miniſtere, il en reſultera qu'on conviendra que nous avons deja commencé dans ce tems là à prévoir à connoitre notre propre danger ; mais la conduite de l'Angleterre nous a, dans le ſuite, entierement ouvert les yeux ; et il n'y a rien de plus naturel, que chaque puiſſance prenne d'avance les meſures pour ſa propre conſervation. Dans ces circonſtances je dois vous avouer, que Sa Majeſté Imperiale et ſon miniſtre, ne peuvent point comprendre ce que l'ouverture confidentielle des Anglois ſignifie proprement, et par conſequent il eſt aiſé à comprendre qu'on ne ſe trouve pas icy en etat de pouvoir y faire une reponſe.

Lord Bute to Mr. Mitchell.

St. James's, May 26th 1762.

Sir,

As this is the laſt diſpatch that it will fall to my ſhare to write to you, in quality of ſecretary of ſtate, I think it neceſſary, and eſpecially as the Parliament is upon the point of breaking up without any grant of ſubſidy, as in the former years, to the King of Pruſſia, to enable you to juſtify the King's conduct from any miſapprehenſions or miſrepreſentations of what has paſſed in that affair, and to ſet forth His Majeſty's true motives for withholding that ſuccour in the preſent circumſtances ; that ſo

the

the natural conſequences of public events, and the effects of pure neceſſity may be no more imputed, as they have been very maliciouſly, to ſuch a change of diſpoſitions, or ſuch a failure of friendſhip, as have in truth never exiſted; ſince the King never had, nor has now, the leaſt thought of abandoning His Pruſſian Majeſty to his enemies, or deſerting his alliance.

In order to your being prepared to execute this inſtruction in a manner conformable to the King's intention, I muſt deſire you to recollect with me the ſeveral ſtages of the negotiation concerning the ſubſidy, and what paſſed in the different periods of it.

Upon the concluſion of the laſt campaign, which ended ſo greatly to the King of Pruſſia's diſadvantage, by his loſs of the two important fortreſſes of Schweidnitz and Colberg, the King ſaw the diſtreſs of his ally with the utmoſt grief and commiſeration; and upon the preſſing application of the Pruſſian miniſters here, his Majeſty, notwithſtanding the great load of expences, from the continuation of military operations in ſo many parts of the globe, as well by ſea as land, for which the Parliament could with difficulty make proviſion, yet did not heſitate a minute in determining to give the former ſuccour to the King of Pruſſia. The term in which that buſineſs had been before tranſacted, the treaty being then expired, was indeed objected to, but the ſubſtance was not diſputed.

The negotiation for ſettling the mode of that buſineſs was carried on through the months of November and December. In the beginning of the preſent year our war with Spain broke out, and the neceſſity of our undertaking the defence of Portugal againſt the ambitious views of that crown was foreſeen. The additional weight of ſuch vaſt charges upon the moſt exhauſted reſources of this country could not but alarm the warmeſt advocates for the continuance of war, and the indiſputable expedience of leſſening the objects of them was univerſally felt and acknowledged. In that circumſtance you were directed to recommend, in the King's name, to His Pruſſian Majeſty to endeavour to ſet on foot ſome negotiation of peace with the court of Vienna: he was deſirous to intruſt His Majeſty with the terms upon which he would be willing to treat, and aſſured of the King's deſire to aſſiſt in bringing any ſuch ſalutary deſign to perfection. You were likewiſe ordered to aſk a communication of the means on which he would rely, after ſo many misfortunes, and ſuch a diminu-

tion

tion of his power, for carrying on the war, if that were his intention.

After ſome weeks waiting for an eccliarciſſement upon either of thoſe heads, in the beginning of February the King did indeed complain of ſo unexpected a ſilence; but you were ſtill told that His Majeſty was thinking of the proper time for making the demand of the ſubſidy in Parliament.

In this interval we had the great news of the deceaſe of the late Czarina, and a moſt promiſing proſpect, from our very firſt accounts of that happy change of meaſures, which has ſo greatly bettered the King of Pruſſia's ſituation.

His Majeſty ſaw that amendment with the trueſt ſatisfaction. He rejoiced in it as a ſincere friend to that Prince, and as a well wiſher to the public intereſts of mankind; for he conſidered the defection of Ruſſia from the contrary alliance, as what muſt give His Pruſſian Majeſty a great advantage towards obtaining a ſpeedy peace; and though His Majeſty could not, conſiſtently with the intereſts of his people, whoſe burthens were increaſing in proportion as thoſe of his ally were leſſened, think then of contributing by any act of his to the prolongation of war; yet he ſtill declared, and has continued, till near the preſent times, declaring, that if he might have aſſurance that the ſubſidy ſhould be employed towards the procurement of peace, His Majeſty would be ſtill ready to aſk it immediately of the Parliament.

This was the language, as well of my letter of the 26th of February, to Meſſieurs Knyphauſen and Mitchell, as of one which His Majeſty was pleaſed himſelf to write a month after that to the King of Pruſſia.

It was not till the ninth of laſt month that, after a long and fruitleſs waiting for ſuch an overture from Breſlaw, as might have juſtified to His Majeſty's own paternal ſentiments, and to the public, the laying again, in ſo different circumſtances, ſo heavy a charge upon his people, that you were directed to hold a language to the King of Pruſſia, which might prepare him for a total ceſſation of the former pecuniary ſuccour. It was not till after the actual concluſion of his armiſtice with Ruſſia, and when an agreement of the like kind with Sweden was in view. It was when the former of thoſe powers ſeemed on the point of concluding a definitive treaty (at leaſt) with His Pruſſian Majeſty, and the latter, from her abſolute inability to continue the war, and the univerſal cry of her people for peace, was pre-

paring to make the firſt ſtep towards him: In a word, it was ſubſequent to our receiving here that important declaration of the 23d of February, by the new Emperor, wherein he openly exhorts the King of Pruſſia's enemies to put a ſpeedy end to the war, and declares his own reſolution of reſtoring to that Prince all the important conqueſts of his predeceſſor.

WITH theſe facts and dates in your memory, you may venture to appeal not only, as you were directed by my laſt cited diſpatch, to that Prince's former eventual declarations, but even to his own preſent judgment, and that of his miniſters, whether the king could have ſtill reaſonably been expected to perſevere in his intention of giving the former ſubſidy. We have a very powerful additional enemy to contend with; His Pruſſian Majeſty has a new and very powerful friend: the weight of Spain is thrown into our oppoſite ſcale; that of Ruſſia, and Sweden too, is taken out of his: the King of Pruſſia has Pomerania and Brandenburg to defend, beſides Saxony and Sileſia; the two former are no longer in danger: we had, on our part, a moſt expenſive land war to ſupport in Germany; we muſt now provide for another in Portugal.

IT ſeems hardly imaginable that this ſtriking compariſon ſhould not be ſufficient to convince even the court of Breslaw, that in ſuch circumſtances, without a certainty of its application towards leſſening the objects of war, it was impoſſible to propoſe the ſubſidy to Parliament with any hopes of ſucceſs.

HAVING thus ſtated to you, in its true and genuine colours, the whole of the King's proceeding in relation to the Pruſſian ſubſidy, with the real motives of it in every ſtep, I come now to ſay ſomething upon another affair, which concerns myſelf more particularly, and in which His Majeſty is very graciouſly pleaſed to permit me to make my own diſculpation a part of this diſpatch, written by his order, and with his approbation.

I NEED not tell you, for you are fully appriſed of it, that I have been charged with having held to prince Galitzin, ſome little time before his departure, a moſt unfriendly diſcourſe with regard to the King of Pruſſia, and with having in particular endeavoured to perſuade the Emperor of Ruſſia, through the channel of that miniſter, in the firſt place, not to withdraw his troops from the Pruſſian territories, but to keep them ſtill there, in order to force that Prince to make ceſſions to the Queen of Hungary; and ſecondly, to prefer an alliance with the houſe of Auſtria,

tria, to that of His Pruſſian Majeſty. Theſe are the chief points of accuſation, to which are added ſome embelliſhments of leſs conſequence; and in anſwer to them, what I have to obſerve to you is, that I ſee no reſemblance in that account to my real converſation with Prince Galitzin. If he did really therefore make ſuch a report to the Emperor, he muſt either groſsly have miſtaken my meaning, or failed in his memory, or (what I am ſorry to ſuppoſe poſſible with reſpect to a gentleman ſo deſervedly eſteemed) may have been prompted by his known attachment to the court of Vienna, to give ſuch a turn to his relation of my diſcourſe, as he might think moſt likely to ſerve that intereſt.

By a particular coldneſs ſhewn by the Czar to Mr. Keith, and by hints which dropped from His Imperial Majeſty, there was reaſon to think that ſomething written to him by Prince Galitzin, with regard to the King's diſpoſitions towards the King of Pruſſia, had given him offence.

He without doubt communicated that intelligence to His Pruſſian Majeſty, who had been before diſpoſed, by thoſe malevolent and miſchievous inſinuations, which we have by a multitude of combined circumſtances but too much reaſon to ſuppoſe he receives from his miniſters here, to give an entire belief to it, with the ſame credulity with which he liſtened to that groundleſs and ſhameful falſehood, tranſmitted to him from hence, of His Majeſty's having offered to treat with the court of Vienna at his expence.

But, however that be, the fact is, that I held no ſuch diſcourſe. I do perfectly recollect the interview which I had with Prince Galitzin before he left us, and I remember as perfectly that I had then lying by me my firſt diſpatch, after the late Empreſs's death, to Mr. Keith, and that I talked to him from the contents, and entirely in the language of it: and I muſt add that, in uſing that ſtyle, I ſpoke not my own notions only, but thoſe of His Majeſty, and of all his ſervants, who had ſeen and concurred in the inſtructions then ſent to Mr. Keith.

I communicated to you at that time what appeared neceſſary for your information of the contents of that diſpatch; but as it is now become of more importance, I have His Majeſty's leave to ſend you *in extenſo* every word in it that related to the general affairs of Europe, or to the King of Pruſſia in particular.

You will ſee that inſtead of adviſing the Czar to continue his armies upon the Prince's territories, the King's

particular pleaſure and ſatisfaction is expreſſed in the orders given to thoſe troops to advance no further upon them; to abſtain from all hoſtilities, and even to accept an armiſtice, if offered: you will ſee too, that ſo far from deſiring that the court of Ruſſia ſhould prefer the Auſtrian alliance to the King of Pruſſia's, Mr. Keith was directed to execute the inſtructions ſent to him by the King of Pruſſia himſelf, which were certainly not in favour of the Queen of Hungary.

It is true, that the preference is very ſtrongly given to pacific meaſures in that diſpatch, and Mr. Keith is reſtrained from concurring in any thing that might tend to protract the war: but this was no ſecret inſtruction, for you were directed to make the ſame declaration, and to ſhape your own conduct by the ſame rule.

You ſee then, beſides my own aſſertion to the contrary, how totally improbable it is that I ſhould hold a language to the Ruſſian miniſter, I do not ſay ſo different, but ſo abſolutely contradictory to the orders which I had juſt ſent from His Majeſty, to his own miniſter at that court, and that, with thoſe very orders in my hand, I ſhould declare or even inſinuate to Prince Galitzin, that His Majeſty's real ſentiments were juſt the reverſe of them.

Upon this foot, therefore, I ſhall leave it to you to clear me from ſuch an unworthy imputation, having only juſt to add to this letter, that, as one which His Majeſty has received from the King of Pruſſia ſeems to adopt the ſame ill-founded charge, and does not yet expreſs a full ſatisfaction in the declarations made by His Majeſty, with reſpect to the idle ſtory of our negotiation with the Empreſs Queen, the King would have you inſinuate civilly to Count Finkenſtein, that His Majeſty had not thought it ſuitable either to his own, or His Pruſſian Majeſty's dignity, to enter into ſuch altercations, but had choſen to enable you his miniſter to explain, and ſet in their true light, thoſe facts, which have either erroneouſly or maliciouſly been miſrepreſented to the King of Pruſſia.

I am, &c.

Bute.

APPENDIX III.

CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING IRELAND.

Lord Bowes, Chancellor of Ireland, to Mr. Dodington.

25th December 1760.

* * * THE orders to diſſolve the late parliament, and to ſend over the bills as uſual, to certify to His Majeſty the conſiderations for calling a new one, were in conſequence of applications from the Lords Juſtices here, that the affair muſt be ſpeedily over, and that within the year of the preſent ſheriffs.—The reſolutions were juſt and prudent.

HAD the difficulties relating to the ſending over the bill for a ſupply (purſuant to precedent) occurred, they ought to have been diſcloſed. Charity bids us hope it did not. In fact the ſubject was not mentioned, to my knowledge, till on the meeting of a council, called, as I was then informed, to conſider what bills ſhould be ſent. It was mentioned to be the inſtant before we took our ſeats, requeſting me to name ſuch as might be proper. My anſwer was, that the notice was ſhort and unexpected: I preſumed we ſhould ſee what had been done, and follow precedents. On my memory I thought a money bill was always one.

THE primate, who ſpoke to me, and the attorney-general, who was preſent, ſeemed to aquieſce. On mentioning it to the chancellor of the exchequer, he objected againſt ſending a bill for a ſupply, as there would be time after a meeting of parliament to prepare one in form, and that it was not neceſſary before, as the duties would not expire till the 25th of December 1761; adding, that ſuch a bill would be rejected, and produce warmth, which was to be avoided in a new parliament, and poſſibly end in a diſſolution, the rather as they reſolved in the year 1727, the day they paſſed a like bill, on the meeting of that parliament, "That no money bill ſhould be read before the report from the proper committees of accounts, and that this ſhould be the ſtanding order."

THESE reaſons, to which I have given their full ſtrength, were reported inſtantly at the board, urged pathetically, and in my judgment, improperly at that time and place.

Departing from the ſettled uſage in affairs of government required temper to judge of the neceſſity and previous private deliberation with thoſe in the King's ſervice, to ſettle the manner in which ſuch a neceſſary change can be effected.

THIS was not done, and the effects to be expected happened: — haſty reſolutions, and declarations of what they would or would not do, and that equally at the upper and lower end of the table. My intimations of what has ſince been the caſe were to little purpoſe, and ſpoke ſtrongly to my underſtanding, that each man ſaw this would be a popular point, and ſtrove which ſhould appear ſtrongeſt in ſupport of it. The next ſtep was to guard againſt reſentment on your ſide the water. They were warned, and therefore the juſtices wrote the next day to the lord lieutenant apprizing him of their ſentiments, the improbability of changing them, the conſequences of attempting the ſending ſuch bill, and, I think, ſufficiently to be underſtood, that they could not do it; propoſing the expedient of other bills, which if received, the affair would end — at leaſt it gave time to deliberate. To which I (an eye witneſs to the ferment) concurred, expreſſing my ſenſe to comply, if the expedient ſhould not be accepted.

You know the event on your ſide — on ours, no anſwer to the ſent letter increaſed heats — more determined deliberations. — Debate blowed the coals. — They were told, without effect, that the ſending bills to His Majeſty, to be by him returned to his parliament, to notify from him the cauſes of their meeting, and the buſineſs they were to proceed upon, was peculiar to Ireland, depended on poſitive laws enacted by parliament during the reign of Henry VII. under which they could not enter upon other acts than thoſe tranſmitted by the King — that, ſubſiſting that law, ſupplies muſt be ſent to them as other acts. That the ſtatute of Philip and Mary confirms the former, at the time when it enlarges the power of government here to tranſmit to His Majeſty other cauſes which might ariſe during the ſeſſion of parliament; but the former remained in full force as to ſuch cauſes and conſiderations as were known before the meeting of parliament. That in fact a ſupply was underſtood to be the primary cauſe of calling parliament: — that the eſtabliſhment in Ireland made it neceſſary to aſk a ſupply from the next parliament, as it would certainly be wanted. The time of aſking the quantum and the continuance were in the diſcretion of the crown; — that this notification equally left to the Houſe of

Commons

Commons their affirmation or negation; — that ancient laws were to be expounded by uſage; — that this appears to have been ever the uſage from the journals of parliament, and the records of the council, eſpecially ſince the conteſt in 1692, without a ſingle exception — that conteſts with the crown were to be avoided — that the nature of the ſubject made it leſs juſtifiable in point of prudence, as no one attempted to urge any real prejudice that might attend the following of precedents; whilſt on the other it obſtructed the calling of parliament. How long that might ſubſiſt could not be known. That at that board they were to conſider what was their duty, and to repreſent and adviſe of inconveniences which were expected from doing what had been done, and ſeemed required by law. Prudential reaſons were alſo urged in vain—time taken for conſideration. —Poſſibly the event may be, that no ſuch cauſe will be tranſmitted as yet: that if required towards the neceſſary meeting of parliament, it may be complied with; but what will be the fate of ſuch bill ſent back, or the conſequences of an unanimous rejection, is out of my ken.

This country is populous and wealthy. They have been taught to think themſelves injured by their preſent conſtitution, forgetting Poyning's law was their own requeſt, and that if their form of government, whilſt in their preſent relation to England, be different from that of England, the worſt which can befal them is to force England to determine what power the parliament of England ſhall have over Ireland.

As to others who want not this information, their buſineſs is, and will be, to ſecure ſuch parliamentary intereſt as may render them neceſſary to every chief governor. He may parade, but muſt ſubmit. This is the preſent ſtate of things, which occaſions queſtions to be taken up here for the ſake of popularity, that as governors they ſhould diſcountenance.

This will account for the great precaution that one ſhould not get the ſtart of the others, and keeping together empowers them to ſay, "change hands as oft as you pleaſe, you can only be furniſhed from this ſhop."

Lord Bowes to Mr. Dodington.

2d February 1761.

I don't wonder my laſt ſeemed obſcure; public diſturbances are with difficulty explained. Thoſe we are engaged in become important rather from the ſituation of government than the conſequence of the matter.

To view them in a true light, it is neceſſary to look back to the Revolution, or rather to the Hanover ſucceſſion, ſince which time Ireland has been the moſt flouriſhing ſtate in Europe, as is evident from the riſe of lands, and the great increaſe of perſonal property; and probably their repreſentatives in this parliament have been poſſeſſed of more property than yours in Great Britain, in proportion to numbers, without taking in the diſproportion of wealth in the two kingdoms; whence you will conclude that power, or attempts to acquire it, have accompanied opulence. — They have not had any real grievance from government, and have therefore quarrelled with its preſent legal conſtitution. They have conſidered your Houſe as the model, and in general think themſelves injured in the inſtances wherein theirs, upon the legal conſtitution, muſt differ.

In fact they are become the terror of governors ſent from England, who, for preſent quiet, and uncertainty of ſupport from your miniſtry, have rather choſen to gratify by compliance, than conteſt points, which, when acquieſced in, became a foundation for future ſuperſtructures. This gave riſe to *undertakers*, who inſured quiet to the governor in exchange for power, and are now in that ſtate of ſtrength to tell the lord lieutenant he muſt come into their meaſures, or be rendered too uneaſy for men of rank to remain under.

You need not be told by me where that power now reſides, nor how neceſſary popularity is to the keeping of it, eſpecially on the election of a new parliament.

But I muſt obſerve, that formerly Proteſtant or Papiſt were the key words; they are now court or country; referring ſtill to conſtitutional grievances, for of others they don't pretend to complain.

The chancellor of the exchequer (when in oppoſition) was the popular man, and (with his abilities) of great conſequence. His acceptance of his employment, with an added ſalary, had totally deprived him of popularity, nor could it be retrieved by his being of no uſe on the other ſide. The parliament here being diſſolved, the law required the council here to certify (in form of bills) the conſiderations for calling a new parliament. — Uſage had always ſent a bill for a ſupply, commonly called a money bill, as one. The commons had received theſe bills with reluctance. The applications to council to ſend over bills as usual, gave the chancellor of the exchequer opportunity to object againſt ſending any money bill, which he enforced by ſuch reaſons as were the popular arguments againſt it.

Prevailing

Prevailing in this point at that board muſt have merit, as the Commons had not been able to ſucceed, and their attempt in 1692, ended in their diſſolution. The intent was evident, as alſo that what one gained thereby, muſt be loſt to others, which properly occaſioned that unprecedented warmth which followed.

NEITHER could truſt the other with this advantage, and therefore joined inſtantly, and in ſuch manner as to become principals at once; reſolving and declaring they were ready to ſuffer political martyrdom in ſupport of it, and this before the council had given or been aſked their opinions on the ſubject, though, in fact, the majority ſoon eſpouſed the ſame ſentiments. To this united ſtrength may be aſcribed the letters to the lieutenant, in terms unuſual, to ſay no more; and hence the difficulties ariſe as to the prudential part on your ſide the water, and are, in truth, of great moment with reſpect to the future government of this kingdom.

THERE is a bill ſent from hence in ſeeming compliance with theſe reſolutions on your ſide, to which ſome names are wanting, becauſe they did not conſider the bill ſent agreeable to former uſage, or the intent of it. Not being a bill for a ſupply to His Majeſty, that it was open to every objection made againſt ſending the uſual bill, with many others ariſing from the nature of the bill ſent; as it related to a vote of credit, for which the honour of the Commons was engaged; not deſired by thoſe who had lent their money, and could only be neceſſary on the ſuppoſed defective ſecurity of that vote—that it appropriated duties in the firſt inſtance, and deprived the Commons of conſidering the amount of the debt to be provided for, or the duties for re-payment, &c. &c. &c. That theſe added objections would probably create conteſts in another place, and the meaſure was therefore unſafe as well as unuſual, and ſeemed calculated only to aſcertain in the event that which they had ſaid would happen in ſending a money bill.

IT is obſervable, and I believe true, that the oppoſition here is univerſally diſapproved of, and the actors ſee their error, though not the way to get rid of the affair. If this laſt attempt ſucceeds, they will rejoice as on a victory—if not, their having departed from their firſt declaration, their doing what they ought to have done, ſeems to be a neceſſary conſequence, if thoſe on your ſide inſiſt upon it.

Lord Bowes to Mr. Dodington.

26th March 1761.

LORD HALLIFAX comes here at a critical time, and his conduct will probably fix the future government of Ireland.

16th Oct. 1761.

* * * To me Lord Hallifax ſeems to have got the ſtart of oppoſition, and they will have no eaſy taſk to perſuade the people that he is not their friend. The return of the money bill is likely to occaſion differences: but the train in which things are placed is likely to make it eaſy; — it was ſent in wrath, knowing it muſt be rejected on its return. Your lordſhip well knows what uphill work it muſt be to carry ſuch a queſtion againſt the inclinations, and in fact againſt utility and conveniency; what is therefore wiſhed is, that it may be received and read, and then poſtponed till a new bill may be framed, which will take in the ſubject of that act, and which may be neceſſary to anſwer the end propoſed by way of ſupply and duration, and then drop the firſt, upon the reaſon of the thing, without entering on any further queſtions. Queſtions may, and probably will be propoſed, but I think rejected by a reſpectable majority.

THE bill for ſeptennial parliaments will be introduced, and like your place bill be carried in, though ſtrongly againſt the inclinations of many who will be ſilent. In what light that may be conſidered elſewhere, you may know before I can. The queſtion is, or rather may be of importance to the Crown, but infinitely more to the quiet, &c. &c. of the kingdom.

Lord Halifax to Lord Melcombe.

15th December 1761.

I AM obliged to you for the favourable opinion you expreſs of my government here, and I am ſorry for the picture you draw elſewhere. If I am quiet, it is not that I am without a tribe equal in *virtues* to that you deſcribe at home, but I came determined to make the proper uſe of them, and I luckily had an early opportunity of doing ſo. It was always conſidered good generalſhip to turn an enemy's cannon againſt themſelves, and I took their battery as ſoon as unmaſked. I will not ſay what other lord lieutenants have been, but I am as much maſter here as I can wiſh to be, and as much as my good royal maſter could ever have expected me to be. His authority, *coute qu'il coute*, ſhall never ſuffer in my hands. The nation is like to continue good humoured, and to be ſhort, as the edge of oppoſition is blunted.

APPENDIX IV.

ON THE ISLE OF MAN.

THE early hiſtory of the Iſle of Man is involved in conſiderable obſcurity; on the expulſion of the Norwegians, the ancient records of the iſland were carried to Drontheim in Norway, and on inquiry within theſe thirty years, it has been diſcovered that they were accidentally deſtroyed by fire. However, it ſeems from the report of Calvin's caſe, that this iſland was an ancient and abſolute kingdom [a].

THE tradition of the iſland points out the firſt trace of monarchy in the lateſt ſtages of druidical hierarchy, when Chriſtianity was introduced, and biſhops were placed there by St. Patrick, not only ad erudiendum, but, ad regendum populum iſtius Inſulæ [b].

THE iſland was under an independent ſovereign; by Edward II. it was granted to his favourite, Gaveſton, Earl of Cornwall [c], and was afterwards conquered and held by Alexander III. of Scotland, and governed by his thanes. By the aſſiſtance of Edward III. it again returned to the Engliſh line, and became the property of Sir William Montacute, who, in 1393, ſold it to William le Scrope, on whoſe forfeiture it fell to Henry IV. [d]

THIS monarch, in the firſt year of his reign, granted the iſle to Henry Earl of Northumberland, who being attainted for treaſon [e], it was granted to Sir John Stanly and his heirs [f], Tenendam de Rege hæredibus et ſucceſſoribus ſuis per homagium ligeum reddendo nobis duous falcones, &c. &c. from whom, by a lineal ſucceſſion, this noble inheritance deſcended to Ferdinand, fifth Earl of Derby.

IN the year following his ſucceſſion, this nobleman died, leaving three daughters co-heireſſes, and his brother William, ſixth Earl of Derby, his heir male.

On the death of Earl Ferdinand, a controverſy aroſe between his three daughters and widow, on the one part, and the ſaid Earl William on the other. A reference in conſequence was made by Queen Elizabeth to ſome of her privy council and judges [g].

[a] Coke's Rep. 7. [b] Jocelin, Vit. Patric. 6. 152. [c] Rap. Hiſt. Eng. vol. iii. 331. [d] 4th Inſt. 283. [e] 6th Henry IV. [f] 4th Inſt. 284. [g] Anderſon's Reports, vol. ii. p. 215, Dugdale's Baronage, 250.

This

This diſpute continued ſeveral years, and in the mean time the crown appears to have had poſſeſſion of the iſland. At length an agreement was made, various ſums of money paid to Earl Ferdinand's daughters and his widow, and the ſucceſſion of the iſland regulated by an act of parliament in the 7th of James I.

By this act it was ſettled, after certain limitations, on the right heirs of James, then Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, with a clauſe prohibitory of alienation.

The iſland deſcended to James, tenth Earl of Derby, on whoſe deceaſe, the male line of heirs of James Lord Stanley becoming extinct, recourſe was had to Amelia Sophia, the youngeſt ſurviving daughter of James, ſeventh Earl of Derby, who was married to John, Marquis of Atholl, and from whom, by lineal ſucceſſion, the iſland has devolved on the preſent Ducheſs Dowager of Atholl, Baroneſs Strange, under the parliamentary entail of the 7th of James I.

It being conceived that the Britiſh and Iriſh revenues were materially affected by illicit practices carried on to and from the Iſle of Man, acts of parliament paſſed from time to time, regulating the trade of Great Britain in reſpect to the Iſle of Man; which in the year 1765, being conſidered inſufficient to carry their purpoſes into effect, after much negotiation and correſpondence with the Atholl family, which was at length dropped, the bill of 1765, for inveſting the iſland in the crown, paſſed.

The preſent Duke of Atholl, who is heir apparent, and on the deceaſe of his mother will be heir general of James Lord Stanley, conceiving that this act of parliament has been made in direct violation of the parliamentary entail of 7th James I. and is, in a variety of reſpects extremely ſevere in its operation, from the title to and value of the iſland being totally miſunderſtood at the time the tranſaction took place, has, ſince he came of age, made ſeveral applications for redreſs [h], which it has been found neceſſary to diſcontinue, from new matter ariſing in the courſe of his inveſtigations relative to this iſland; and his Grace having obtained from His Majeſty a commiſſion for inquiring into the nature of his complaints, and the ſituation of the iſland, and a report having been made generally in favour of his Grace's allegations, it is underſtood that he is preparing to apply for a full conſideration of his caſe, in order to the attainment of redress, from the honour, juſtice, and equity of the imperial parliament.

[h] Com. Journ. 1780—1790.

APPENDIX V.

LETTER from a Perſon in high Office in AMERICA, to an Engliſh Nobleman; on the Temper of the People, and Courſe of Politics.

New York, 8th November 1765.

BY Davis, two days ago, I gave you a tedious (becauſe I choſe it ſhould be a particular) account of the violence that lately broke out in this town, and which, if the madneſs of the lieutenant governor had not been repreſſed by the prudence of the commander in chief of the King's forces, would very probably have involved the whole continent in a rebellion.

I AM impatient to the laſt degree, for the arrival of Sir Henry *Moore*; not becauſe it will rid us of *Colden*, who, 'tis reported, thinks himſelf no longer ſafe in America, and will remove to England; but I have ſome hopes a governor not obnoxious to the people, may confide in the militia, and take proper meaſures to free us from a ſtate of anarchy, and the dominion of a mob, who not only terrify the magiſtracy, but may put the match to the powder of diſcontent that threatens to blow up all the provinces. Let us hope there will be no recurring to force; if Britain prefers it to policy, we are both ruined. For the Americans ſeemed determined to fulfil Barré's prediction in the Houſe of Commons, and fight it out.

DEPEND upon it they will ſuffer no man to execute any law to raiſe internal taxes unimpoſed by their own aſſemblies. None of the diſtributors durſt act; and that man's heart muſt be fortified with tenfold ſteel, who ventures even to approve the doctrine, that the parliament hath a right to give away the eſtates of the coloniſts without their conſent.

IN the chartered governments, where the offices are elective, all things run on in the uſual channel; and even in the colonies, where there is a more immediate dependence on the crown, the ſpirit of the people countenances ſuch a defiance to all officers, that I make no doubt of an equal neglect of the *ſtamp act*.

THE ordinary proceſs of the law has not as yet been iſſued in this province; but I ſuppoſe it will ſoon begin without any reference to the parliamentary decree: and

indeed, if any durſt to aſk for them, there are none to diſtribute them. The merchants, I once thought, would have been the firſt purchaſers; but they venture out their veſſels with unſtamped cockets, nor have the officers of the cuſtoms the hardineſs to refuſe them any of the neceſſary documents. The newſpapers alſo are diſperſed as before, and thunder out their weekly execrations againſt all the authors of the real or ſuppoſed grievances of the country, and the printers, ſure of an immediate gaol-delivery, inflame the whole continent.

BLESSED be the name of the man who finds means to diſpel the dark cloud that hangs over us, and brighten this troubled ſky. I am aware of the difficulties. The change of the miniſtry gives a ray of hope to ſome, who preſume that the new ſtate-phyſicians will naturally find fault with the preſcriptions of the old doctors. But I fear that the terror of the general voice on your ſide of the water, will, for a time, ſupport the doctrine *here* ſo utterly abhorred; nor do I ſee any middle way to ſave the honour and claims of the parliament. Regulations in trade to deſtroy the Weſt India monopoly, ſo deſtructive to us and the mother-country, with the reduction of the admiralty powers, may ſweeten men's minds; but the grand conteſt will ſubſiſt even though the ſtamp duty ſhould be *reduced*, and better proportioned to the abilities of the people.

A *total* exemption from taxes they were reſolved to force; and beſides the juſtice of their cauſe, they are animated by various conſiderations to expect ſucceſs—your preſent confuſions, which they hope to increaſe by our own economy and encouragement of home-made manufactures; the ſupplies you want from us; the difficulty, if not impoſſibility of ſparing a ſtanding army and ſupporting it; a preſumption of the neceſſary flights over to us of your unemployed manufactures; our other various acceſſions; our rapid growth, and that your own army may be waſted by deſertions. The project that the ſtanding force adequate to the deſign (not of a quick conqueſt, but) of maintaining the law againſt a general, wide-ſpreading diſaffection, while it flatters our hope, will, if it falls from its fidelity, endanger an American independency, and provoke your natural enemies in Europe to lift up a ſucceſsful arm againſt you: all inſpire a confidence that Britain will be too wiſe after all, to venture upon a meaſure that will quicken her own downfall.

BY theſe views our people are emboldened—add to this, they are all united—every man inſpires his neighbour, and

and colonies echo to colonies, we are Engliſhmen, and will be free.

At the late congreſs in this place, they came unanimouſly to a ſet of *reſolves*, of which the ſeveral deputies took copies, that their repreſentations and conduct may have a perfect harmony.

As I do not approve of the violences of my countrymen, ſo neither could I agree with their wiſe men, either in the principles they go upon, or the manner of giving ſucceſs to their claims.

THE congreſs was appointed for the firſt of October; opened a few days afterwards, and cloſed on the 25th of the ſame month.—The members were, in general, men of warm paſſions—an impatience to get home, and the pride of the draftſmen, againſt which I forwarned ſeveral of them, had alſo a very ill effect on their tranſactions—all the conduits of information had not emptied upon them, before they began to write, nor indeed, before they broke up; and their compoſitions therefore carry evident marks of hurry and imperfection.

WHAT they wrote is contained in *fourteen reſolves*, a petition to the King, another to the Commons, and a memorial to the Lords.—But, why a memorial?—That I cannot say: I mentioned it to one of the members, and thought *he* was ſly riſed at the obſervation. So it remained when they broke up.

THE reſolves profeſs allegiance to the crown, and[1] all *due ſubordination* to the two houſes of parliament; declare that we are entitled to all the rights of ſubjects born within the realm; that it is eſſential to the freedom of a people, to be taxed only with their own conſent; that the colonies neither are, nor can, from local circumſtances, be repreſented in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons; that their only repreſentatives are in their colony legiſlatures; and, except by them, no taxes have been, or can be, conſtitutionally impoſed upon them.—That ſupplies being *gifts*, the Commons of Great Britain cannot *conſtitutionally* grant away our property.—That trials by jury are the rights of the ſubject.—That the ſtamp act, and other acts of trade, tend to ſubvert that right. That the duties lately impoſed are grievances, and the payment impracticable.—That the profits of our commerce center in Great Britain; and we, therefore, contribute largely to all ſupplies.—

[1] They would not be perſuaded to a full recognition of the authority of parliament.

That

that the preſent parliamentary reſtrictions prevent us from purchaſing the manufactures of Great Britain.—That the proſperity of the colonies depends on the enjoyment of their rights, and a mutual beneficial intercourſe with the mother-country.—That it is the ſubjects' right to petition King, Lords, and Commons, and *our* duty, by a loyal and dutiful addreſs to the King, and humble application to both houſes, to procure a repeal of the ſtamp act and others, reſtricting trade, and extending the admiralty juriſdictions. I give the ſubſtance.

You may, hence, collect the ſcope of the petitions, and will ſoon ſee them at full length. The acts of the congreſs conclude, recommending it to the colonies, to ſolicit their cauſe by ſpecial agents from each.

WHAT ſay you to the American Parliament, *only to meddle with ſupplies*, compoſed of deputies from each colony; a council during good behaviour; and a lord lieutenant at pleaſure. Great Britain to ride miſtreſs of life, liberty, and commerce, and ſo to retain all the power ſhe can deſire (leaving us a reaſonable ſecurity), a power neceſſary for ſupreme direction.

THIS, 'tis true, is a novelty, but more in the form than ſubſtance; and when a new adventitious ſtate ariſes, why not adopt new principles? Time alters both laws and conſtitutions of countries—we came out from you freemen—a forfeiture we did not incur—we had the royal licence to emigrate, and there is a merit beſides, in extending the trade and dominion, and increaſing the number of your ſubjects—ſo your King thought; why then theſe little diſtinctions begot and foſtered by the crown? This numerous partition of provinces ſeems now to render the machine of empire too complex—whoſe fault is that? But 'tis a fault—agreed—provide then a new model correſpondent to this new ſtate—if the ancient conſtitution did not foreſee this wide diſperſion of its ſubjects, nor conſequently make an equal and ſuitable proviſion for their government, let it be confeſſed on both ſides that *ſo it is*, and a proper one be contrived, in which the millions abroad that are collecting honey for the hive at home, and thoſe who never came out for it, may both be ſafe. Don't ſtartle at a parliament in America—you have got two in Europe—have made above twenty abroad—we conſent that they may be *conſolidated* into one—nay! But we are jealous of you, divided as you are, and have more to fear if your power is united. Strange embarraſſments—and ſo, that your jealouſies may be gratified—we muſt be ſlaves!

—Depart

—Depart from truth and right, and the wiſeſt nations will be convicted of folly and injuſtice—Let reaſon, undazzled by the glare of power, decide between us. If one ſiſter aſks the ſole diſpoſition of the eſtate of the other, can ſhe be juſt? If the parliament of Great Britain admit our right of repreſentation, and ſay, we *virtually* have it, though we don't ſend a member; what is this but playing the fool, and flying to the old conſtitution for a covering too narrow to conceal them from nakedneſs? Again, ſuppoſe ſome ground for your jealouſies? Of two evils prefer the leaſt. In attempting to enſlave us, you may fall yourſelves. That your power will, one day, walk over the Atlantic, 'tis certain—your colonies will exhauſt you. A thouſand motives excite your people to come hither—our condeſcenſion (to ſpeak like an American) will retard the day of your final overthrow: permit you the pleaſures of a more eaſtern ſun, 'till we have ſet the houſe in order, and fitted it for the reception of your King, Lords, and Commons. This is the natural ſeat of your empire, and if you will fall in with the propoſal, drop your pretence of a virtual repreſentation, and be honeſt and kind—our parliament, uninfluenced by the contractions incident to little aſſemblies, will be generous, and ſupport the government with all the trappings and ſplendour which *the moſt* profuſe liberality can deſire, and your *wiſe* regulations for our commerce will permit. But I am inſenſibly carried into an enormous length—you ſee how a proſpect that ſaves us from the miſeries of a civil war, pleaſes me. I wiſh your ſenators would take a trip to theſe ſhores. I think we have no ſecrets, and am ſure an American air would contribute to the clearing ſome of their heads.—Adieu!

APPENDIX VI.

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

The ſtate of the polite arts in England at His Majeſty's acceſſion bordered on national reproach. In the preceding reign they had ſuſtained total neglect; but now a more than common attention to the arts began to manifeſt itſelf, not only among the profeſſors, but among the higher ranks of ſociety, which was ſtimulated by the favour ſhewn to

to a new and popular inſtitution, the "Society for the "encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce," under whoſe auſpices the annual public exhibitions originated.

To this ſtandard modeſt merit was invited for ſupport and protection, and ability acquired means of obtaining diſtinction and liberal reward. This bias in favour of the liberal arts was not unnoticed by His Majeſty; and when the artiſts formed their plan of uniting in a body to perpetuate their public exhibitions, and aſſumed a permanent character by incorporation, the royal conſent was graciouſly conceded, and their charter granted, January 26th 1765.

From this "Incorporated Society of Artiſts of Great "Britain," aroſe the Royal Academy, in conſequence of a diſpute between the directors and the fellows, which occaſioned a ſeparation of intereſts.

On the 10th of December 1768, the inſtitution of the preſent Royal Academy was completed, under the immediate patronage of His Majeſty; and Sir Joſhua Reynolds, receiving the honour of knighthood on the occaſion, was appointed its firſt preſident.

This new eſtabliſhment for the cultivation and promotion of painting, ſculpture, and architecture, is ſupported by the produce of an annual exhibition, a ſource which of late years has proved amply ſufficient; but which at its commencement was aſſiſted by royal bounty to the amount of five thouſand pounds.

We have only to turn our eyes to the numerous productions which have paſſed in review before the public, ſince theſe eſtabliſhments for the encouragement of the elegant arts, to be convinced of the ſound policy of giving all poſſible energy to thoſe exertions of native genius, which in ſo ſhort a time have turned the tide of public approbation, and added ſignal glory to the Britiſh name, by breaking through all the obſtacles raiſed by prejudice, ignorance, or malice.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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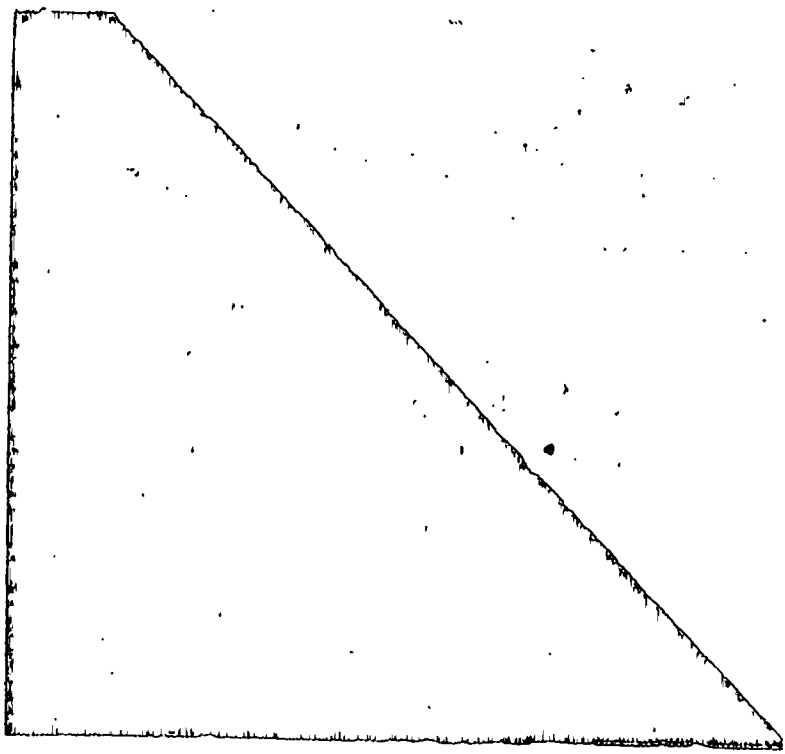

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